DeLAY INDICTED AGAIN

The Nation.

'GUEST WORKERS' DESERVE MORE
David Bacon

REVVING UP THE CHINA THREAT
Michael T. Klare

WHY IS AFRICA STILL POOR?
Andrew Rice

PAT TILLMAN, WAR HERO & CHOMSKY FAN
Dave Zirin

PUTTING THE 'CON' IN CONSERVATIVE

WHY WE NEED A NEW CONTRACT WITH AMERICA

by ROBERT L. BOROSAGE

OCT. 24, 2005
$2.95
$3.95 Canada
www.thenation.com

#BXNKBXM **********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 TW

FEB 05 07
RON K UNZ USPA
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704 P0022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

MS. OLDS REGRETS

We were highly gratified, but not surprised, by the massive outpouring of near-unanimous support for poet Sharon Olds's decision not to attend the National Book Festival or the dinner and breakfast hosted by the First Lady ["No Thanks, Mrs. Bush," Oct. 10]. A sample of the mail follows.
—The Editors

New York City
■ Three rousing cheers for Sharon Olds, who showed courage and wisdom in turning down Laura Bush's invitation. Every person who breaks bread at the White House tacitly condones the slaughter in Iraq, which her husband initiated when he arrogantly and unilaterally declared this horrific war.
MICHAEL MAXTONE-GRAHAM

Bremerton, Wash.
■ Sharon Olds, your ability to articulate is exceeded only by your courage. I stand in awe. Thank you. JENNIFER CECERE

Lexington, Ky.
■ What gives me hope in these bleak days is the resonance of such powerful voices as that of Sharon Olds. I would despair, were it not for poets like her.
MARTHA GALLION GEHRINGER

Albuquerque
■ Bravo! Three Cheers! Good Show!—for not accepting Mrs. W.'s invitation. We need more like Sharon Olds! H. MILTON PEEK

Wyncote, Pa.
■ For me, this is what family values means.
MARLENE SCHWARTZ

Eureka, Calif.
■ It is difficult to type while standing and wildly applauding poet Sharon Olds's breathtaking decline of Laura Bush's dinner invitation. Perhaps Ms. Bush will see in the letter the difference between politics and poetry. The former requires pretense, artifice and the ability to hide one's genuine face. The latter (to be done well) requires candor, authenticity and the ability to speak the truth without flinching. For these reasons Ms. Olds is a brilliant poet and Ms. Bush is, well... married to the President.
CARLA BAKU

Enumclaw, Wash.
■ Sharon Olds's letter to Laura Bush has circulated all across the country to this far-most corner. If everyone would "walk the talk" of their beliefs, we would recover. Sharon, you have contributed to strengthening and healing in so many ways. JUDY NICKELS

Hemet, Calif.
■ The idea that a single person can project her moral outrage by refusing to dine with the First Lady appeals to my holistic sense of what we should all be doing. Sharon Olds and Cindy Sheehan have the courage to say, "This is not right—this is immoral." I am wondering where the "men" are who fight so hard to be elected as our representatives. JIM PANKEY

Studio City, Calif.
■ Hmmm. Given the ear of the queen the poet chooses to remain silent. Given an opportunity to talk with the priest the poet sings to the choir. Given a chance to dialogue with the enemy the poet denies any inherent possibility within such dialogue. Given the challenge of improbable odds against planting a viable seed the poet paves over the near-barren patch she is given. Given a chance to write the poem of a lifetime the poet publishes a letter. The poet did, no doubt, the best she could and God bless her for it, but God, if I ever have the poet's opportunity, please help me find the Eartha Kitt within. DREW KATZMAN

In 1968 singer-actress Eartha Kitt famously denounced the Vietnam War at a White House gathering hosted by Lady Bird Johnson.
—The Editors

Dublin, Ireland
■ I read Sharon Olds's letter with a sense of relief and pride. Relief because it is so necessary for us far beyond America's troubled shores to know that there are still Americans for whom civilized, humane values are alive and paramount, and pride that a poet whose work I love and admire should have such dignified fire in her, such a profound belief that poetry can never be at the service of lies.

It is tempting, as Ms. Olds points out, to speak truth to power—such moments have their glamour—but who can believe now that tyrants listen to poets? She has chosen the wiser course: Her absence from that White House table is eloquent echo to all those forever silenced in the bloodbath of Iraq. THEO DORGAN

Verona, Va.
■ I appreciated Ms. Olds's letter so profoundly that I used my lunch break from work to go purchase three volumes of her poetry. I would love to see her sales numbers peak in a show of solidarity and gratitude for her eloquence and grace and grit. SARAH KNORR

Mystic, Conn.
■ Sharon Olds eloquently speaks for me and makes my heart beat stronger yet—and at 71 years, still working from necessity, a ferryboat deckhand, I must purchase at least one of her books, proud that in this fog of shame I am still proud of this country that has begot a Melville, Dickinson and Sharon Olds.
BARRY THOMAS

San Francisco
■ Sharon Olds speaks for all of us. My eyes welled up in tears—tears of gratitude. What courage and eloquence. I printed the letter so my class can read it. We all need inspiration in these times. My thanks to Sharon for providing it. PAT WYNNE

SMILE WHEN YOU SAY THAT...

Rockville, Md.
■ I understand Matt Bors's point in the "Revised Science Textbooks for Christians" ["Comix Nation," Oct. 10], but I take exception to the stereotype he employs. Apparently, Bors has never met a liberal Christian. I have. The comic would more appropriately have been titled "Revised Science Textbooks for Fundamentalists."
EDWARD WALDMAN

'PAT ROBERTSON' REPLIES

New York City

ED, DON'T WASTE YOUR TIME ON BORS. HE'S AN AGENT OF SATAN. AS FOR THESE "LIBERAL" CHRISTIANS YOU KNOW, IF YOU THINK THEY'LL BE WITH ME IN HEAVEN I'VE GOT A GOLD MINE IN LIBERIA I'D LIKE TO SELL YOU.
THE TRUTH IS MATT BORS WANTS TO PRACTICE WITCHCRAFT, EAT BABIES, AND BECOME A LESBIAN! HE SHOULD BE ASSASSINATED!

MATT BORS

(Continued on Page 32)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED OCTOBER 5 VOLUME 281, NUMBER 13

IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 CRONY CONSTITUTIONALISM

4 TIME TO FIX THE SYSTEM

6 PAT TILLMAN, OUR HERO
Dave Zirin

8 BLANK CHECK FOR BUSH?
David Cole

8 OIL-FOR-FOOD: IT WORKED!
Ian Williams

10 COMIX NATION
Perp Walk
Joe Wezorek

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
I Think I Heard a Liberal Say
Calvin Trillin

13 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
The Little Black Book of Virtues
Patricia J. Williams

14 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
The First Time Was Tragedy...
Eric Alterman

ARTICLES

15 COMMUNITIES WITHOUT BORDERS
Indigenous migrants put down new roots, without abandoning the old.
David Bacon

24 A *REAL* CONTRACT WITH AMERICA
As GOP corruption piles up, it's time for Democrats to clean the stables.
Robert L. Borosage

27 BUILDING A NEW TABLE
New York's post-9/11 rebuilding offers lessons—and warnings—for Gulf Coast activists.
David Dyssegaard Kallick

28 REVVING UP THE CHINA THREAT
The Bush Administration is spoiling for a new cold war in the Far East.
Michael T. Klare

BOOKS & THE ARTS

33 MEREDITH: The Fate of Africa: From the Hopes of Freedom to the Heart of Despair
SACHS: The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time
GUEST: The Shackled Continent: Power, Corruption and African Lives
Andrew Rice

38 KUNKEL: Indecision
Mark Lotto

44 FIVE BOOKS BY VIKTOR SHKLOVSKY
Elif Batuman

48 FILMS
A History of Violence
Good Night, and Good Luck
Stuart Klawans

Cover art from "Line Up," an installation by Nora Ligorano and Marshall Reese, cover design by Gene Case & Stephen Klingl Avenging Angels; illustrations by Christoph Niemann and Igor Kopelnitsky

EDITORIALS

Crony Constitutionalism

The nomination of White House counsel Harriet Miers to fill the seat of retiring Justice Sandra Day O'Connor is a measure of George W. Bush's unprecedented political weakness. With the Iraq debacle, the Katrina disaster and the DeLay indictments, ambitious Republicans are now distancing themselves from the White House. The O'Connor vacancy presented a dilemma: On the one hand, appointing a judge bearing the activist right's stamp of approval on abortion, the environment and other contested issues would court not only unified opposition from Democrats but defection by moderate GOP senators. On the other hand, appointing a genuinely distinguished moderate jurist, legal scholar or political leader would insure a far-right revolt.

Bush's solution: Appoint a personal adviser with few apparent qualifications. Miers has never argued a Supreme Court case, published a significant law-review article or shown in her career any interest in constitutional issues. It's true that historically Justices have carried diverse résumés, and until recent years many came to the Court without experience on the bench. But comparisons to Earl Warren or William Rehnquist do not flatter Miers, whose "leadership" consists of managing a law firm's representation of Disney and Microsoft and keeping Bush clear of fallout from the Texas lottery scandal and his National Guard desertion.

There is still much to learn about Miers, but it's already clear that her nomination is an act of crony constitutionalism at a time when Bush's agency-packing schemes have led FEMA and Homeland Security to disaster. As with Chief Justice Roberts, Bush's main interest seems to be an Associate Justice friendly to his expansion of executive powers. As White House counsel, Miers is surely implicated in the profound civil liberties and presidential-powers cases now wending their way through the courts. The Judiciary Committee must aggressively seek the tenor of her advice on these matters—if for no other reason than to protect the Supreme Court institutionally from a conflict of interest, since cases in which Miers has given advice will probably be heard by the Court.

It also must be said that while Miers has no track record on constitutional matters, she is hardly a cipher. Despite unhappiness in some corners of the right with her appointment, she appears to be a committed social conservative, voting against legalizing gay sex during her brief stint on the Dallas City Council, donating to Texans United for Life and working unsuccessfully to turn the American Bar Association away from its support for abortion rights. As president and managing partner of Locke Liddell & Sapp, she oversaw a law firm that worked assiduously for Texans for a Republican Majority and was forced to return an illegal contribution to Tom DeLay's defense fund.

Miers's nomination must not be permitted to survive with the kind of cheerful evasion that John Roberts brought to his confirmation. Her scant qualifications and her legal career deserve the closest scrutiny. So does her White House performance: Bush's vow to refuse to turn over documents will run headlong into the Senate's critical need to learn something about the nominee's thinking on weighty constitutional issues. Bush's political capital continues to erode, and Democrats who played their cards close to the vest on Roberts now have a chance to stand up for competence, civil liberties and the Supreme Court itself. As the President likes to say about schools: It's all about standards.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIALS

The Nation.

PUBLISHER: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer (*on leave*)
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed, Bob Moser (*interim*), Roane Carey (*acting managing editor*)
WEB EDITOR: Joan Connell
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Mark Sorkin
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
ASSISTANT LITERARY EDITOR: Christine Smallwood
INTERNS: Dan Bell, Joe Duax, Michael Fox, Sarah Goldstein, Sahar Habibi, Emily Lodish, Shreema Mehta, Clarisse Profilet (*Washington*), Anna Louie Sussman

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Books*, Lee Siegel; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Jody Rosen; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Eyal Press, Scott Sherman, Ari Berman (*Washington*)

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Miriam Camp
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
EDUCATION/COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
VICE PRESIDENT, WEB SITE AND TECHNOLOGY: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas
BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Joliange Wright
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2005 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

Time to Fix the System

House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi responded to the indictment of her GOP counterpart with a predictable partisan jab. "The criminal indictment of majority leader Tom DeLay is the latest example that Republicans in Congress are plagued by a culture of corruption at the expense of the American people," Pelosi declared. That's fair enough, particularly in the current political moment (as we go to press, a federal grand jury has indicted David Safavian, former chief procurement official for the Bush Administration, on five felony counts of making false statements and obstructing investigations of lobbyist Jack Abramoff). It's not enough to simply replace DeLay. That's because he's basically right when he says he's being hauled into court for engaging in politics as usual. That doesn't mean DeLay should get off. Texas prosecutor Ronnie Earle has made a compelling case for putting the man they call The Hammer behind bars. But believing DeLay's ouster will end the manipulation of campaign finance rules is akin to believing weapons of mass destruction will be found in Iraq. DeLay's replacement as majority leader, Roy Blunt, is no improvement. He has toiled for years in DeLay's little shop of ethical horrors; indeed, he has been pouring dollars into the soft-money cesspool that is DeLay's defense fund.

The problem is not appropriate cynicism regarding the shuffling of the GOP batting order; it is the sneaking suspicion that if Democrats were in charge, they would manipulate the money machine as aggressively as Republicans. What we need is recognition by top Democrats that the system is broken. Start with the fact that it took a Texas prosecutor working with a law that's a century-old relic of the Progressive Era to force DeLay from his powerful perch—and even then, it only happened because a GOP caucus rule, put in place by former House Speaker Newt Gingrich after the 1994 "Republican revolution," required indicted leaders to step down. The House Ethics Committee is toothless; Pelosi and reform-minded colleagues should call for an independent ethics process that investigates and addresses corruption in a nonpartisan manner. That's step one, but it must come in conjunction with an overhaul of lobbying laws and a commitment to fundamental campaign finance reform.

The DeLay indictment has created a rare chance for change on these defining issues, along with a chance to fix our broken districting and election processes. It is notable that the indictments in Texas came the same week the Supreme Court agreed to consider a case involving a Vermont law that limits campaign spending, a development that could lead to reconsideration of the Court's flawed 1976 *Buckley v. Valeo* ruling, which put so many roadblocks in the way of reformers. That same week also saw the Republican governor of Connecticut respond to a series of scandals by calling a special legislative session to consider implementing a sweeping "clean money" campaign finance system. That's the right approach. If Democrats embrace real reform they will be able to get past the suspicion of many voters that the only difference between Tom DeLay's Republicans and Nancy Pelosi's Democrats is that this time DeLay got caught.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• CLEAN AIR, CLEAN WATER, CLEAN ENERGY • DIVERSE, INDEPENDENT BOARDS • SUSTAINABILITY • EQUAL OPPORTUNITY •

• PREVENT POLLUTION • REDUCE TOXIC WASTES • EQUAL OPPORTUNITY • SUSTAINABILITY • ANTI-SWEATSHOP • NO TOBACCO • REDUCE, REUSE, RECYCLE • IMPROVE QUALITY OF LIFE

• CONSERVE EARTH'S RESOURCES • PROMOTE PEACE • REDUCE POVERTY • SHAREHOLDER ADVOCACY • NO WEAPONS • ANTI-SWEATSHOP • COMMUNITY INVESTING • SUSTAINABILITY •

• PROTECT OLD-GROWTH FORESTS • ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP • FAIR HIRING PRACTICES • WORKPLACE DIVERSITY •

Before we buy their shares, we want them to share our values.

We refused to invest in a retail giant because they sold rugs made by children.

We divested our position in a Silicon Valley company because of the increased volume of their Defense Department business.

We intentionally invest in community development banks that work in low-income minority areas.

What would you expect of us? We were founded during the Vietnam war by ministers who felt it was wrong to own a company that made napalm. From that day to this, our principal has followed our principles.

We now have four socially responsible mutual funds. All have a low ($250) minimum initial investment.

You should consider a fund's investment objectives, risks, charges, and expenses carefully before investing. For a free prospectus that contains this and other important information please call or visit our web site. Read the prospectus carefully before investing.

Pax World Balanced Fund
Average Annual Total Returns (6/30/05)

1-year	5-year	10-year	20-year
9.43%	**2.87%**	**10.51%**	**10.24%**

Performance data quoted represents past performance, which does not guarantee future results. Investment return and principal value of an investment will fluctuate so than an investor's shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost. Current performance may be lower or higher than the data quoted. For most recent month-end performance information visit www.paxworld.com.

PAX WORLD
MUTUAL FUNDS

Principles + Performance.
1-800-767-1729 www.paxworld.com

Distributor: H.G. Wellington & Co., Inc., Member NASD/SIPC. September 2005

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

Pat Tillman, Our Hero

"I don't believe it," seethed Ann Coulter.

Her contempt was directed at a September 25 *San Francisco Chronicle* story reporting that former NFL star and Army Ranger war hero Pat Tillman, who was killed in Afghanistan last year, believed the US war on Iraq was "f***ing illegal" and counted Noam Chomsky among his favorite authors. It must have been quite a moment for Coulter, who upon Tillman's death described him in her inimitably creepy fashion as "an American original—virtuous, pure and masculine like only an American male can be." She tried to discredit the story as San Francisco agitprop, but this approach ran into a slight problem: The article's source was Pat Tillman's mother, Mary.

Mary and the Tillman family are relentlessly pushing for answers to the questions surrounding Pat's death in Afghanistan. They want to know why it took the Pentagon five weeks to tell them he died in a tragic case of friendly fire. They want to know why they were unwitting props at Pat's funeral, weeping while lies were told by eulogizing politicians. Mary is now hoping that a new Pentagon inquiry will bring closure. "There have been so many discrepancies so far that it's hard to know what to believe," she said to the *Chronicle*. "There are too many murky details."

The very private Tillmans have revealed a picture of Pat profoundly at odds with the GI Joe image created by Pentagon spinmeisters and their media stenographers. As the *Chronicle* put it, family and friends are now unveiling "a side of Pat Tillman not widely known—a fiercely independent thinker who enlisted, fought and died in service to his country yet was critical of President Bush and opposed the war in Iraq, where he served a tour of duty. He was an avid reader whose interests ranged from history books...to works of leftist Noam Chomsky, a favorite author." Tillman had very unembedded feelings about the Iraq War. His close friend Army Spec. Russell Baer remembered, "I can see it like a movie screen. We were outside of [an Iraqi city] watching as bombs were dropping on the town.... We were talking. And Pat said, 'You know, this war is so f***ing illegal.' And we all said, 'Yeah.' That's who he was. He totally was against Bush." With these revelations, Pat Tillman the PR icon joins WMD and Al Qaeda connections on the heap of lies used to sell the Iraq War.

Tillman's transition from one-dimensional caricature to critically thinking human being is a long time coming. The fact is that in death he was far more useful to the armchair warriors than he had ever been in life. When the Pro Bowler joined the Army Rangers, the Pentagon brass needed a loofah to wipe their drool: He was white, handsome and played in the NFL. For a chicken-hawk Administration led by a President who loves the affectations of machismo but runs from protesting military moms, this testosterone cocktail was impossible to resist. The problem was that Tillman wouldn't play their game. To the Pentagon's chagrin, he turned down numerous offers to be its recruitment poster child.

But when Tillman fell in Afghanistan the wheels once again started to turn. Now the narrative was perfect: "War hero and football star dies fighting terror." The Abu Ghraib scandal was about to hit the press, so the President found it especially useful to praise Tillman as "an inspiration on and off the football field, as with all who made the ultimate sacrifice in the war on terror." His funeral was nationally televised. Bush even went back to the bloody well during the presidential campaign, addressing his team's fans on the Arizona Cardinals' stadium Jumbotron.

We now know, of course, that this was all a brutal charade. Such callous manipulation is fueling the Tillman family's anger. As Mary Tillman said this past May, "They could have told us up front that they were suspicious that [his death] was a fratricide, but they didn't. They wanted to use him for their purposes.... They needed something that looked good, and it was appalling that they would use him like that." A growing number of military families, similarly angered, are criticizing the war in Iraq through organizations like Military Families Speak Out.

As for Chomsky, whom Ann Coulter would undoubtedly label "treasonous," Mary Tillman says a private meeting was planned between him and Pat after Pat's return—a meeting that never took place, of course. Chomsky confirms this scenario. This was the real Pat Tillman: someone who, like the majority of this country, was doubting the rationale for war, distrusting his Commander in Chief and looking for answers. The real Pat Tillman, the one with three dimensions, must stick in the throat of the Bush-Coulter gang, a pit in the cherry atop their bloody sundae. DAVE ZIRIN

Dave Zirin is the author of What's My Name, Fool?: Sports and Resistance in the United States *(Haymarket).*

CALVIN TRILLIN

I Think I Heard a Liberal Say

I think I heard a liberal say
To Ronnie Earle, "Hooray! Hooray!
Because you finally made my day
When you indicted Tom DeLay.
They'll never fashion, come what may,
An ethics rule that he'd obey.
He works the shadowed shades of gray.
The moment that his side held sway,
He made the lobbyists on K
Just hire those who thought his way,
Then pay and pay and pay and pay.
For access, he did pay-to-play.
The Congress of the USA
Became the cages of Bombay.

"So here's what I'd like for The Hammer:
A whole bunch of years in the slammer."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The School, Inc. is an innovative nonprofit educational organization in Massachusetts, providing individualized alternative educational services for youth with learning disabilities and mental health concerns for thirty-five years.

The School, Inc.

LEAP
Literacy Education Alliance Project

We are launching a GED community-based program. Our services will include adult basic education, vocational services, GED training and therapeutic services designed for youth. Our program is tailored for youth in the surrounding communities who are involved in the juvenile justice system and not enrolled in traditional education settings.

With your donation, you can facilitate a community effort to provide supportive educational and vocational services. In the future, we will expand this program to the families and larger communities of the students we serve, in order to increase community literacy.

Donations and inquiries:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ My payment is enclosed. ☐ Check.

Please mail check to: LEAP 130 Race Street Holyoke MA 01040.

For further information call Jenny Navasky or Ingrid Arvidson at 413-536-2160.

River Valley Academy
Providing High Quality Education Since 1971

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

Blank Check for Bush?

In June 2004 the Supreme Court sharply rejected George W. Bush's assertions that he had unchecked unilateral authority to lock up indefinitely any person he declared an "enemy combatant" in the global "war on terrorism." Writing for the Court, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor declared that a "state of war is not a blank check for the President." The enemy combatant decisions offered hope that at least one branch of government understood the importance of the rule of law even in wartime. Recent developments, however, are a sober reminder that the judiciary's checking function remains an open question. Two courts have recently upheld two of Bush's most controversial actions, while two others have rejected arguments that national security should trump the rule of law. Further appeals are certain, and the new Court will have the final word. What it will say may be the most critical issue to pursue in the upcoming confirmation hearings.

In July the US Court of Appeals for the DC Circuit unanimously upheld Bush's use of a military tribunal to try Salim Ahmed Hamdan, a Guantánamo detainee who was allegedly Osama bin Laden's chauffeur and bodyguard. A district court had barred the President from trying Hamdan in a militay tribunal as a violation of the Geneva Conventions, the 1949 treaty setting out the laws of war. But in an opinion by then–DC Judge John Roberts, the appeals court concluded that even if the Conventions were violated, they can't be enforced through the courts. In other words, when it comes to this critical international law constraining war conduct, the President in effect does have a blank check.

In September the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit unanimously affirmed Bush's authority to hold in military custody José Padilla, the US citizen arrested at O'Hare Airport and originally described as planning to detonate a "dirty bomb." That detention has been viewed by many as Bush's single most questionable assertion of executive power since 9/11. Citizens suspected of terrorism generally must be tried in criminal courts, with all the attendant rights. But the government held Padilla indefinitely in military custody—with no trial and no rights. Two lower courts had ruled that Bush had no authority to hold him as an enemy combatant, and five Supreme Court Justices implied that they too would have ruled for Padilla had his lawyers not initially filed suit in the wrong court. The Fourth Circuit disagreed, although it didn't buy the Administration's broadest justification. From the outset the government had argued it could hold Padilla because of terrorist plots he allegedly planned to undertake here. But the Fourth Circuit declared that he could be held because, like Yasser Hamdi, the only other US citizen held as an enemy combatant, Padilla had fought in Afghanistan after 9/11. In Hamdi's case the Supreme Court ruled that US citizens captured fighting for the enemy on the battlefield could be detained as enemy combatants so long as they were given a fair opportunity to challenge that determination before a neutral decision-maker. The Fourth Circuit reasoned that it should make no difference that Padilla eluded capture on the battlefield and was arrested in the United States.

In late September, by contrast, two federal judges in Brooklyn insisted legal checks must operate even when national security claims are raised. Judge John Gleeson ruled that former Attorney General John Ashcroft and others would have to testify in a lawsuit challenging treatment of "special interest" detainees rounded up after 9/11, rejecting Ashcroft's argument that the claims should be dismissed for national security reasons. Perhaps most significant, Judge Alvin Hellerstein ordered disclosure of additional Abu Ghraib abuse photographs, over the contention of Gen. Richard Myers, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that it might prompt retaliatory terror attacks. Hellerstein wrote, "With great respect to the concerns expressed by General Myers, my task is not to defer to our worst fears, but to interpret and apply the law in this case, the Freedom of Information Act, which advances values important to our society, transparency and accountability in government." The government even had the chutzpah to argue that disclosing the photos would violate the Geneva Conventions, an argument Hellerstein swiftly and properly dismissed.

Some of these cases are likely to make their way, perhaps as early as this term, to the Supreme Court, where the results may be determined by Justice O'Connor's replacement. On that score, former White House political director Ken Mehlman reportedly assured conservative leaders in a recent conference call that Harriet Miers "will not interfere with the Administration's management of the war on terrorism." Perhaps the first question to be asked of Miers, then, is: Do you believe that a state of war gives the President a blank check?

DAVID COLE

David Cole, The Nation*'s legal affairs correspondent, is the author of* Enemy Aliens *(New Press).*

Oil-for-Food: It Worked!

When he was elected to a second term as UN Secretary General in 2001, Kofi Annan appeared in the public eye with the combined halos of King and Gandhi. Then came the flood of half-baked slander over the alleged "oil-for-food scandal." The inquiry into the oil-for-food program, headed by former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, was the direct result of a conservative media storm accusing Annan of influencing the program in favor of his son and financing Saddam Hussein. In the febrile words of Charles Krauthammer, it was the "biggest financial scandal in the history of the world."

A week before the UN's sixtieth anniversary summit, the report issued by Volcker's committee effectively cleared Annan and the UN of the vast majority of the corruption charges the media had been throwing at him. Unfortunately, the report mostly eschewed analysis, taking a "just the facts" approach that allowed UN-baiters to seize on the parts they wanted and ignore the rest.

By the time John Bolton turned up as the Grinch who tried to steal the summit, conservative efforts to erode the moral authority of the UN had been successful enough that Annan had lost most of the moral leverage needed to name and shame the spoilers. The situation would have been worse if the Katrina debacle had not undermined the usual rhetoric about UN mismanagement.

In contrast with the hurricane-response catastrophe, the oil-for-food program, the Volcker report found, had actually fulfilled

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now get FREE new and improved Bulbs for Life†

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room, and pays for itself!

CALL TODAY
TO RECEIVE
FREE BULBS FOR LIFE†
AND FREE SHIPPING††

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp combines the benefits of natural daylight indoors with a savings of $77 over the life of one bulb!*

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well-being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels. But as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offers the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power equivalent to 150-and 100-watt incandescent bulbs. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts 10 times longer than an ordinary bulb make this lamp a must-have.

*SAVE $77 over the life of one Balanced Spectrum® bulb!***

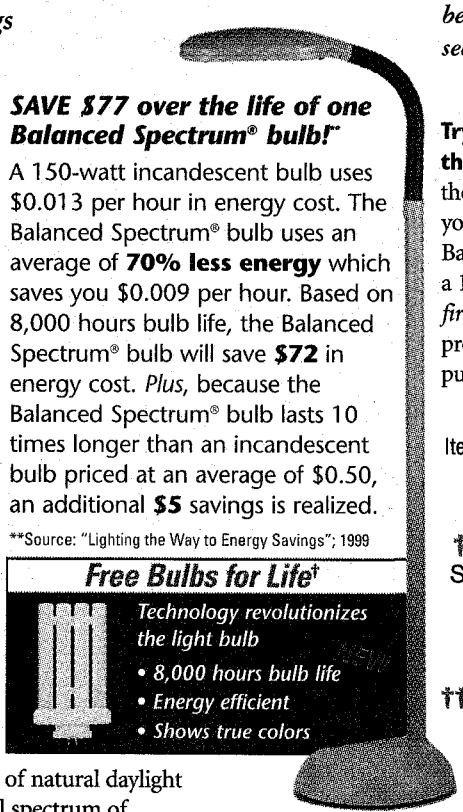
A 150-watt incandescent bulb uses $0.013 per hour in energy cost. The Balanced Spectrum® bulb uses an average of **70% less energy** which saves you $0.009 per hour. Based on 8,000 hours bulb life, the Balanced Spectrum® bulb will save **$72** in energy cost. *Plus*, because the Balanced Spectrum® bulb lasts 10 times longer than an incandescent bulb priced at an average of $0.50, an additional **$5** savings is realized.

**Source: "Lighting the Way to Energy Savings"; 1999

Free Bulbs for Life†

Technology revolutionizes the light bulb

- *8,000 hours bulb life*
- *Energy efficient*
- *Shows true colors*



Height as shown: 50"

"As soon as I turned on the lamp and began to read the newspaper I could see the wonderful difference."

Donna E.
Scranton, PA

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp for the best value ever! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your home at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a 1-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp

Item# BS-3589 . . . . . **was ~~$59.95~~**

*Save $10 with mail-in rebate

Only $49.95 ea + S&H after rebate

†FREE Bulbs for Life. Order one Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp; if it ever needs a new bulb, we'll send you a free bulb valued at $24.95, and ALL you pay is S&H.

- or -

††Order two Balanced Spectrum® floor lamps and get FREE Bulbs for Life† plus FREE shipping on both lamps.

††Free shipping within the Continental U.S. Only.

Please mention promotional code 30553.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

888-933-6684

To order by mail, please call for details

www.balancedspectrum.com

*first*STREET™
SEE IT HERE FIRST

Formerly TechnoScout®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road • Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2005 *first*STREET, Inc.

40784

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMIX NATION

To initiate a war of aggression, therefore, is not only an international crime, it is the supreme international crime differing only from other war crimes in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole.

If certain acts in violation of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them, and we are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would not be willing to have invoked against us.— J. Robert H. Jackson, U.S. Prosecutor, Nuremberg

Joe Wezorek is the editor of the web log American Leftist (http://amleft.blogspot.com).

Joe Wezorek

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

its mandate by feeding the bulk of the Iraqi population and making possible the continuation of sanctions—thus preventing Saddam from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Far from being a failure, by any rational standards oil-for-food was a success—so much so, in fact, that the United States asked the UN to maintain it six months into the occupation. (Citizens of the Gulf Coast might have welcomed the program's expertise last month, too.)

The inquiry did identify $8 billion of revenue for Saddam—nothing to do with oil-for-food, though. These billions came from oil trades with US allies, condoned and in many cases facilitated by the United States. In fact, Volcker's committee found that US officials were fine with Saddam profiting from these trades; they only became agitated when Syria and Iran began to take part. The sole finding of corruption directly tied to oil-for-food was that Benon Sevan, head of the $100 billion program, reported $147,000 in gifts over four years from a now deceased aunt in Cyprus; the committee suspected it was from oil-trade commissions from a company run by friends of Sevan.

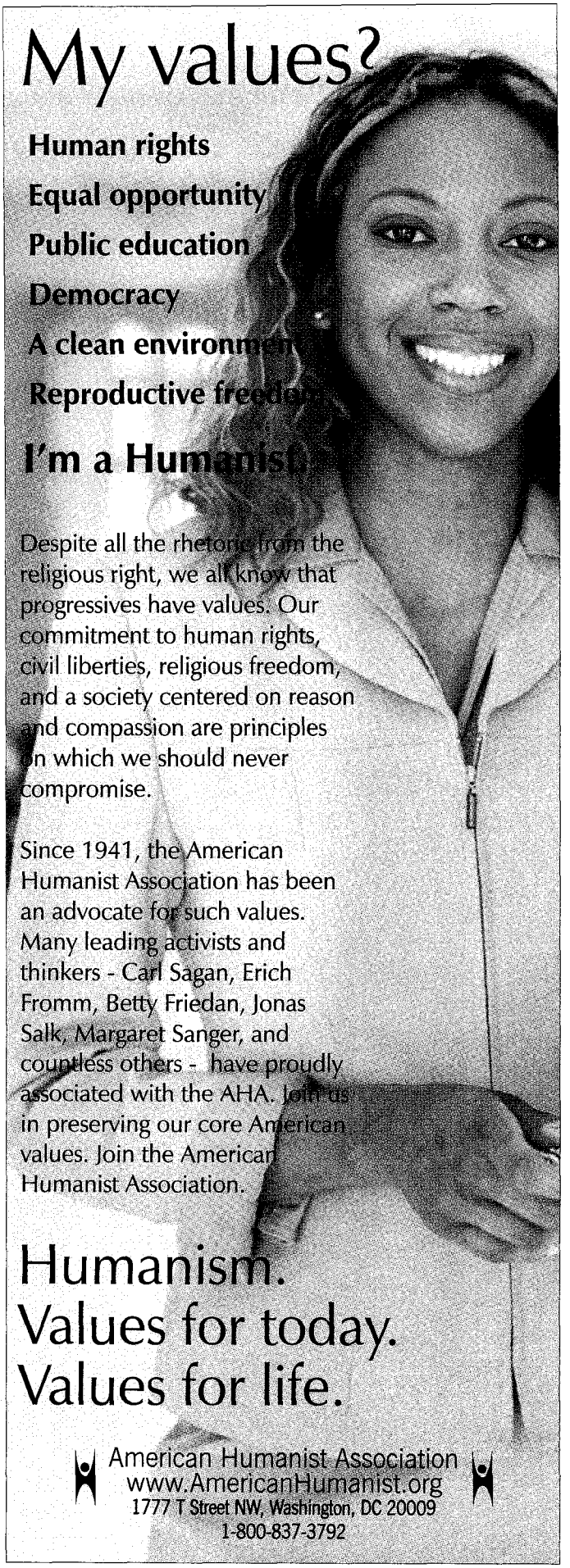
The Volcker committee didn't look into the more than $9 billion in oil-for-food surpluses given to US occupation authorities in Iraq. No accounting of these funds has been provided, either to Congress or to the UN monitoring board. Richard Goldstone, a former Yugoslav war crimes prosecutor who served on the committee, says, "The fate of the cash handed over to the Coalition Provisional Authority was not in the committee's mandate" but adds that "the report largely rebutted the wild claims made in some of the media about corruption in the UN itself."

We can be sure that Congressional committees mining oil-for-food for political advantage will also steer clear of CPA corruption. Expect to hear little about cases like that of Custer Battles, a security company set up by defense consultant Scott Custer and Fox News commentator Michael Battles that's accused of looting the CPA of $50 million. The US courts have ruled that those responsible can be prosecuted only if they stole US money. If it came from the UN, they get off scot-free.

Far from needing more guidance from the United States, the UN needs to get Washington's fingers out of its Secretariat administration. For decades US administrations have appointed presidential cronies as Under Secretary General for Management while excoriating the UN for "waste, mismanagement and corruption." The latest such appointee, major Bush campaign contributor Christopher Burnham, served previously as Connecticut's state treasurer. In that office, he awarded a contract to Columbus Circle Investors to manage $150 million in state pension funds. He resigned in 1997 to become CEO of the same firm and vice chair of its parent company, PIMCO Funds.

No one in his right mind would fall on his sword in defense of UN efficiency or incorruptibility. But to see the defenders of Enron, Halliburton and Michael Brown lead the attack on the world organization forces a defense. They indeed want to reform the UN—to death. By all means we should remove the motes from the UN's eye, as long as we pull out the beams in its accusers'. Without DeLay, one could almost say. IAN WILLIAMS

Ian Williams is The Nation*'s UN correspondent. He has conducted media training sessions for UN agencies and written reports for the UNDP.*


My values?
Human rights
Equal opportunity
Public education
Democracy
A clean environment
Reproductive freedom
I'm a Humanist.
Despite all the rhetoric from the religious right, we all know that progressives have values. Our commitment to human rights, civil liberties, religious freedom, and a society centered on reason and compassion are principles on which we should never compromise.
Since 1941, the American Humanist Association has been an advocate for such values. Many leading activists and thinkers - Carl Sagan, Erich Fromm, Betty Friedan, Jonas Salk, Margaret Sanger, and countless others - have proudly associated with the AHA. Join us in preserving our core American values. Join the American Humanist Association.
Humanism.
Values for today.
Values for life.
American Humanist Association
www.AmericanHumanist.org
1777 T Street NW, Washington, DC 20009
1-800-837-3792

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

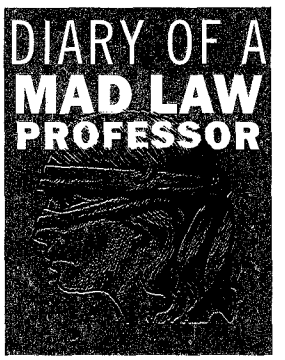
THE PERFECT GIFT FOR *almost* ANY FAMILY

JUST

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

The Little Black Book of Virtues



CALLER: I noticed the national media, you know, they talk a lot about the loss of revenue, or the inability of the government to fund Social Security, and I was curious, and I've read articles in recent months here, that the abortions that have happened since *Roe v. Wade*, the lost revenue from the people who have been aborted in the last thirty-something years, could fund Social Security as we know it today. And the media just doesn't—never touches this at all.

BENNETT: Assuming they're all productive citizens?

CALLER: Assuming that they are. Even if only a portion of them were, it would be an enormous amount of revenue.

BENNETT: Maybe, maybe, but we don't know what the costs would be, too. I think as—abortion disproportionately occurs among single women, no?

CALLER: I don't know the exact statistics, but quite a bit are, yeah.

BENNETT: All right, well, I mean, I just don't know. I would not argue for the pro-life position based on this, because you don't know. I mean, it cuts both—you know, one of the arguments in this book *Freakonomics* that they make is that the declining crime rate, you know, they deal with this hypothesis, that one of the reasons crime is down is that abortion is up.

CALLER: Well, I don't think that statistic is accurate.

BENNETT: Well, I don't think it is either, I don't think it is either, because first of all, there is just too much that you don't know. But I do know that it's true that if you wanted to reduce crime, you could—if that were your sole purpose, you could abort every black baby in this country, and your crime rate would go down. That would be an impossible, ridiculous, and morally reprehensible thing to do, but your crime rate would go down. So these far-out, these far-reaching, extensive extrapolations are, I think, tricky.

—Comments by William Bennett on his radio program,
Bill Bennett's Morning in America, *aired on 115 radio stations*

I. *Courage.* Mother Courage stood before the big old kitchen tub, shredding cabbage on the old washboard, her kind face lined with faith, hope and charity, her worn old fingers swollen at the knuckles from try, try and trying again in all life's many humble endeavors.

"Mother, mother!" came a thin child's voice. "Oh, when shall I be born?"

"Hush now, Little Sunshine," said old Mother Courage. "You must be patient, for patience is a virtue."

Little Sunshine was not a naughty child but she had not yet learned the lessons of perseverance and self-discipline. She had been waiting to be born a mere 150 years and she was getting anxious that her turn would never come. "Has Social Security been funded yet?" she queried plaintively. "Have the lame walked? Have the halt been cured, the hungry fed? And do you think world peace is close at long last?"

"Very soon, I'm sure," soothed Mother Courage, and a tear escaped from one rheumy eye despite herself.

Seeing her distress, Little Sunshine cried, "Oh, mother dear! How selfish I have been! I shall wait! I promise to be good." The old woman's tears turned to glad smiles, and they waited together, happily ever after.

II. *Responsibility.* High on Plato's Peak, the Wicked Witch was pouring her heart out to the Little Red Hen, as the hurricane raged in the valley below. "This Hansel and Gretel thing has been taken completely out of context," she said. "Yes, maybe stuffing both of them in the oven at once was overkill. But the point is that they should never have been born. Those two were never going to be productive citizens, wandering around by themselves. The Black Forest is a very bad neighborhood. The boy was headed for a life of crime, the girl would have had triplets by the time she was 13. Where's the credit for a job well done? First the ungrateful Mr. Swift steals my recipe for boiled Irish babies and now Mr. Bennett claims not to know me! I'm his muse! His role model for the responsible single woman! I devour the strays!"

But the Little Red Hen was busy guarding her bread, the bread that she and she alone had baked because she had had the foresight to anticipate the storm, the intelligence to grind the wheat, the individualism to knead the dough and the fortitude not to share any of it with the lowlife. "Back off, old woman," she clucked companionably. "Pass the salt and back off, do."

III. *Friendship.* "I meant *jack* rabbit, not *black* rabbit," insisted the wise old tortoise. "Really, I did."

"But you said *black* rabbit," said a quick-tempered Brer Hare. "I distinctly heard you say, 'It is true that if you wanted to address the shortage of cabbage leaves, you could shoot every black rabbit in the county and there would be victuals sufficient for all.'"

The tortoise sighed. "I was making a larger philosophical point, an *argumentum ad absurdum*. I did add, after all, that it would be morally reprehensible to shoot *only* black rabbits. If you prefer, I could just as easily have said that you could shoot *all* rabbits in order to achieve the desired cabbage surplus."

Brer Hare was not appeased. "But you didn't. You made it about the 'truth' of black rabbitry."

"Will you never get over that race thing? 'Tis not about who wins or loses. My point was that it would be wrong to wipe out your kind even if it did make the rest of us feel better."

"Just as it would be inconsiderate of me to order turtle soup as a means of making the highroad safe for snoozing without fear of epic judgmentalism?"

"Indeed. As 'twould be less than compassionate to suggest that if you were accidentally reduced to roadkill, we could feel less guilty about rendering your feet into good-luck charms."

"And as it would be a violation of the social compact to insinuate that an extinction of tortoises would mark a surge in the mirth of the nation?"

"As it would be folly to yearn for a world without the compulsive gamboling of frivolous rabbits who…"

And so they were heard, still arguing as they toddled into the distance, separate but equally vexed. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

The First Time Was Tragedy...

I spent a beautiful autumn weekend at the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York, not long ago at a conference of diplomatic historians examining FDR's legacy in conjunction with the opening of a new exhibition—FDR as "Commander-in-Chief"—at the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. The one point of agreement was that FDR's legacy is both ambiguous and inescapable. Steve Gillon of the University of Oklahoma terms Roosevelt "the father of modern America" and argues, "You can't understand America without coming to terms with him and his legacy." And yet that legacy is one of a "juggler"—in historian Warren Kimball's term—who, as FDR himself put it, "never let my right hand know what my left hand does."

Roosevelt's masterminding of the battle against Nazism and Japanese militarism is indeed inspirational. His ability to navigate the crosscurrents of leading America industrially, militarily and politically—simultaneously careening among an unreasonable Churchill, a murderous Stalin and later (at Churchill's insistence) a vainglorious De Gaulle—leaves one's head spinning like Linda Blair's in *The Exorcist*. It was a complex, frequently contradictory, task to maintain what he always insisted was a clear path to victory and a stable, peaceful postwar world. But many of the problems that arose—and ended up killing tens of millions of people in decolonization struggles overlaid with US-Soviet proxy warfare—can be attributed to FDR's unwillingness either to follow through on his announced policies, to place competent people in positions to implement them or to level with the public about what he was trying to do. FDR behaved like a savvy nineteenth-century European realpolitician at Yalta, smartly playing the weak diplomatic hand that battlefield realities had bequeathed him before returning home and pretending he'd achieved a Wilsonian "We Are the World"–style solution. And since he died shortly thereafter, leaving little indication of how he planned to manage the various contradictions he'd created, it fell to an unbriefed and inexperienced Harry Truman to hazard more than a few unhappy guesses. As Walter LaFeber wondered at the conference's end: "How did the Good War end with [such] tragic conclusions?"

I've got my own theories, which is why I devoted so much attention to FDR's Yalta bargain in my book *When Presidents Lie: A History of Official Deception and Its Consequences*. But the accepted answer of almost all those who attended the conference is that while FDR did many things brilliantly, his belief that he could handle everything by juggling ends and means in ways that he alone understood, together with his untimely death on April 12, 1945, probably undermined whatever chances, however unlikely, there may have been for lasting postwar peace.

Outrageous even by his own considerable standards, George W. Bush has tried to hijack Roosevelt's World War II legacy for his own, most recently at a speech in San Diego commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of V-J Day. The obvious difference between FDR's and Bush's wars is necessity. True, FDR led the nation into war by less than forthright means, but he did so because he knew that Germany and Japan were genuine and unavoidable threats to American security and prosperity. Bush chose war for reasons of ideological fanaticism, coupled with personal pique and historical ignorance rather than any verifiable threat. The Administration's repeated demonstration of dishonesty and incompetence vis-à-vis Iraq helps explain why, despite desperate propaganda efforts—and little Democratic opposition—a mere 33 percent of Americans currently voice support for his handling of the war.

Second, while superpowers fighting wars do a lot of things that most of us wish they wouldn't, FDR managed to do them while advancing the image of America as the world's protector and defender of freedom and democracy. This perception grew tarnished during the cold war, particularly at the time of the war in Vietnam, but never to the point that our allies questioned the fundamental arrangements upon which world security and economic prosperity rested. Bush's war, on the other hand, has destroyed much of the good will that America built up among our allies during two world wars and afterward. In the late 1990s the philosopher Jürgen Habermas, symbol and spokesperson for a humane, social-democratic liberal Europe, told me in unequivocal terms that America's protection of European democracy had been necessary and valuable during the last half-century. (He would not extend the argument into the Third World.) And yet under Bush, America's image has fallen so far, according to a recent poll by the Pew Research Center, that totalitarian China is more admired than we are by most European nations, and we are more isolated than at any time since perhaps the end of slavery.

Bush's ability to deceive the nation into an unnecessary war rested in part on his willingness to lie but also on war agitators' deployment of the discourse of Wilsonian internationalism. Rutgers historian Lloyd Gardner notes that Americans are used to hearing that democracy travels well, that democratic institutions can be established easily, that other people want to be like Americans "once the bad people are removed." The phenomenon leads LaFeber to term US politicians' linguistic attachment to Wilsonianism less "a policy than a disease."

Bush has had a great deal of help in this endeavor, from the right-wing punditocracy as well as from politically naïve and ahistorical liberal hawks. Few gave much thought to the likely consequences of "democracy promotion" in Iraq: greater hatred for America and Israel, coupled with a strategic coup for the theocratic ambitions of Iran's medieval mullahs. As the Administration's incompetence slowly transforms Iraq into an ungovernable terrorist training camp, we may be forgiven our nostalgia for a "juggler" who, for all his flaws, had the good sense to address genuine threats with the kind of creativity and competence that right-wing Republicans these days seem to reserve only for criminal enterprise. ■

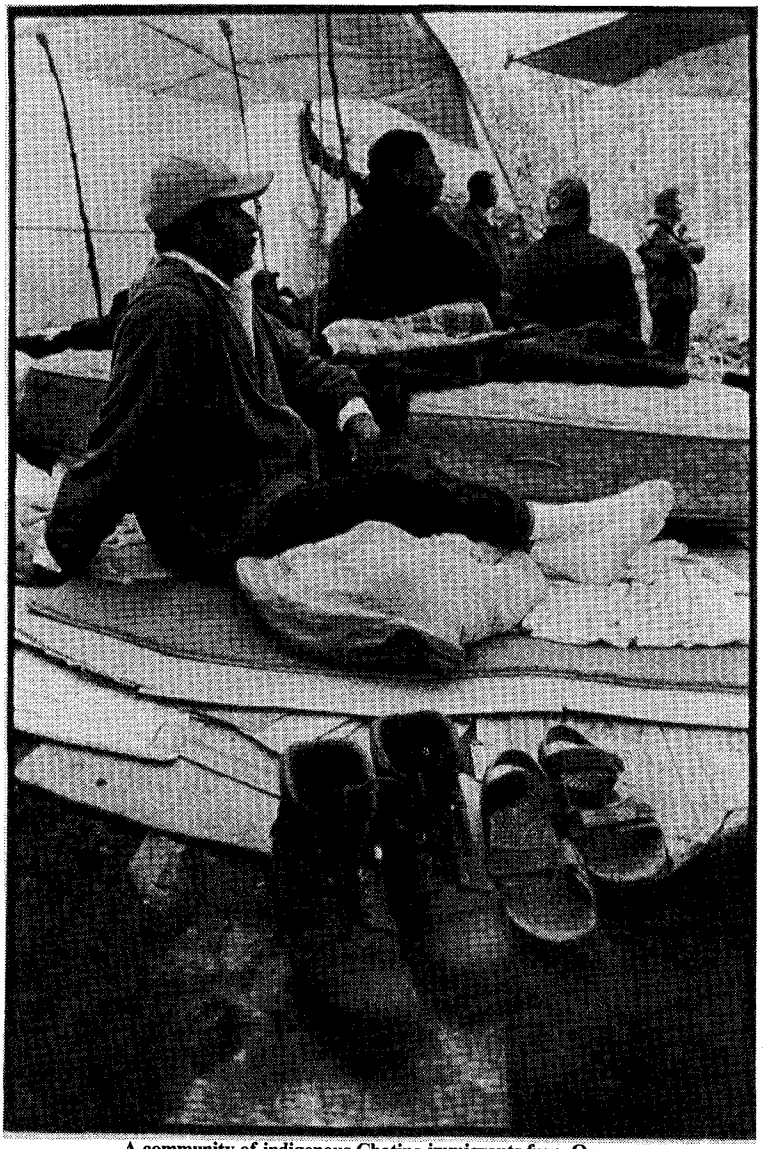
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

Communities Without Borders

DAVID BACON

In 1982 Guatemalan army troops filled the roads through the highlands above Huehuetenango. As part of the country's civil war, soldiers, carrying Armalite rifles supplied by US President Ronald Reagan, swept into the small indigenous villages of Santa Eulalia and San Miguel Acatán. Accusing the towns of using church youth groups to recruit guerrillas, they began killing political activists. Finally, after the army shot down San Miguel teenagers in front of the church, many families fled. Helicopters chased and bombed them through the mountains, all the way to the Mexican border. For those who stayed behind, there was no work—just devastation.



ALL PHOTOS BY DAVID BACON

A community of indigenous Chatino immigrants from Oaxaca live in a field in the Sonoma County wine country of California.

That same year indigenous farm workers from Oaxaca, living in Sinaloa's migrant labor camps in northern Mexico, began to rise up against filthy living conditions and backbreaking labor. Radical young Mixtec organizers launched strikes and, together with left-wing students from the local university in Culiacán, faced down growers, police, armed guards and, ultimately, Mexican troops.

Oaxaca's Mixtec, Zapotec and Triqui laborers were recent arrivals in Sinaloa, but they had already been migrating within Mexico for two decades. Starting in the late 1950s, when Mexican policies of rural development and credit began to fail, the inhabitants of small Oaxacan villages traveled first to nearby Veracruz. There they found work unavailable in their home state, cutting sugar cane and picking coffee for the rich planters of the coast.

Then Sinaloa's new factory farms a thousand miles north, growing tomatoes and strawberries for US supermarkets, needed workers too. Soon growers began recruiting the south's indigenous migrants, and before long, trains were packed with Oaxacan families every spring.

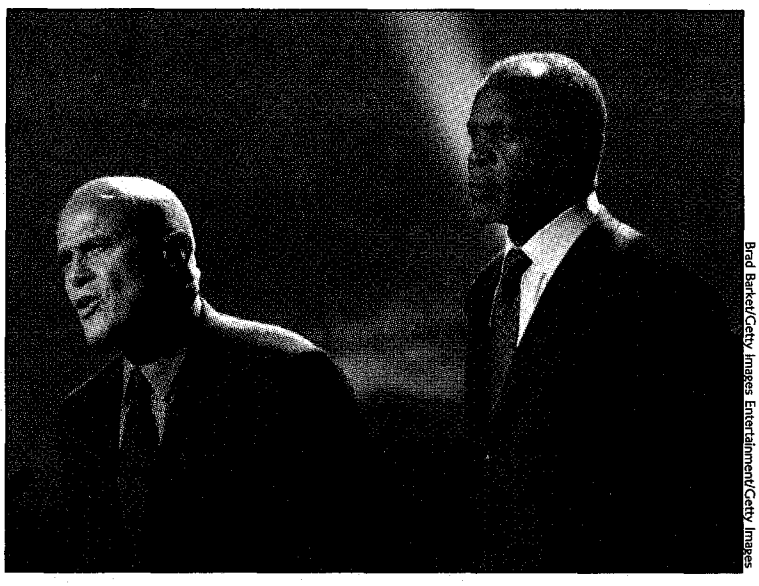
Over the next twenty years Guatemala's Qanjobal and Mam refugees, and Oaxaca's indigenous farm workers, moved north through Mexico. Eventually they began crossing the border into the United States. Today, both of these migrant streams have developed well-established communities thousands of miles from their hometowns. In Nebraska, Los Angeles and Florida, Huehuetenango highlanders affectionately call their neighborhoods Little San Miguel. Triquis living just below the border in Baja California named their settlements Nuevo San Juan Copala in honor of their Oaxacan hometown. In Fresno and Madera, California, the Mixtec community is so large that signs in grocery stores list sale items not just in Spanish but in a tongue that predates the Spaniards' arrival by centuries.

Indigenous migrant streams have created communities all along the northern road. Their experience defies common US preconceptions about immigrants.

In Washington, DC, discussions of immigration are filled with false assumptions. US policy treats migrants as individual workers, ignoring the social pressures that force whole communities to move, and the networks of families and hometowns that sustain migrants on their journeys. Government policy often requires the deportation of parents caught without papers, who have to leave behind their children born in the United States. Sometimes, in this through-the-looking-glass world, the opposite happens, and undocumented youth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harry Belafonte and Danny Glover announce Vanguard Public Foundation's contribution of $200,000 to the Higher Ground Hurricane Relief Fund at nationally televised benefit concert



Brad Barket/Getty Images Entertainment/Getty Images

Danny Glover:

John Coltrane once said "the main thing a musician would like to do, is to give a picture to the listener of the many wonderful things he knows of and senses in the universe." When Miles Davis asked him why he played so long, Coltrane answered, "It took that long to get it all in."

New Orleans is the site of so many "wonderful things", the city being a great crossroads of diverse peoples, languages, architectures, cuisines, and rhythms through the centuries. But it has also been the site of shameful things - slavery, exploitation and neglect.

It is a tribute to jazz musicians that they sought to "get it all in". The music itself - vital, transformative, seductive, subversive and often improvised - provided the record that tied each generation to the next. Out of suffering and hardship, we have heard time and again jazz artists rediscover possibility. Such is the power of imagination. And hence, the critical importance of this evening's effort.

When the hurricane struck the Gulf and the floodwaters rose and tore through New Orleans, plunging its remaining population into a carnival of misery, it did not turn the region into a Third World country - as it has been disparagingly implied in the media - it revealed one. It revealed the disaster within the disaster: grueling poverty rose to the surface like a bruise to our skin.

But the storm not only revealed the poverty of those most vulnerable, those left behind. It revealed the poverty of skewed priorities that put the shoulder of technology to the wheel of death rather than life, creating killing machines that are now called "smart" and surveillance systems that, in the words of the great Guyanese poet Martin Carter, "are watching you sleep and aiming at your dreams."

Mother Nature revealed the poverty of a mindset that narrowly views security as a military issue. That is blind to the role of culture in sustaining the mental health and social wellness of people, which is also the basis for economic productivity. Blind to the role of culture in education, through which we are prepared for our responsibilities in a democracy. And hostile to the role of culture in the search for truth.

Hurricane Katrina revealed, more than anything else, a poverty of imagination.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Harry Belafonte:

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once said, "True compassion is more than throwing a coin to a beggar. It demands of our humanity that if we live in a society that produces beggars, we are morally commanded to restructure that society."

Let us challenge what we have been told was inevitable: Katrina was not "unforeseeable", the loss of life and suffering was not "unavoidable". It was the result of a political authority that sub-contracts its responsibility to the private sector and abdicates responsibility altogether when it comes to housing, health care, education and even evacuation.

As New Orleans rebuilds, let us also ensure that reconstruction does not result in further victimization. Let us support the efforts of those people in the Delta who have stated that they "will not go quietly into the night, scattering across this country to become homeless shadows in countless other cities while federal relief funds are funneled into rebuilding casinos, hotels and chemical plants..." Let us ensure that those victimized by this tragedy will be empowered to actively participate in the reclaiming, rebuilding and improvement of their communities.

The gift of music is to bring people together, to create not only a shared identity, but to embrace a shared humanity. To truly know ourselves is to realize how we are connected to each other.

Many people this evening have described the beauty, the Creole and spice, the gumbo that is New Orleans; the African roots, blues, gospel and many other musical traditions that have come together to create that uniquely American art form: jazz.

And the meaning of jazz, is life. Whether we receive it as a blend of many notes reflecting diverse traditions, or as John Coltrane might have it: as one note, played in endless variations.

Let us commit ourselves to the service of life.

The Vanguard Public Foundation, which Danny Glover and I serve, has a long history of social justice philanthropy and activism, and has established a People's Hurricane Relief Fund. And tonight, on the occasion of this inspiring benefit convened by Wynton Marsalis, the Vanguard Foundation is making a donation of $200,000 to the Higher Ground Hurricane Relief Fund.

"The Vanguard Foundation strives to eradicate racism in all its manifestations and promote civil rights, economic justice, gender equality and community empowerment." --**Hari Dillon**, President, Vanguard Public Foundation

To donate to the People's Hurricane Relief Fund, and/or for more information about Vanguard, call (415) 487-2111 or visit www.vanguardsf.org

To donate to the Higher Ground Hurricane Relief Fund and/or for more information, please visit www.jalc.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

find themselves forced to move back to a place they don't even remember.

Policy-makers see migration simply as a journey from point A to point B. They assume that people make decisions about when to leave home, where to go and how to live based simply on economics—the need for a job. There is no denying the importance of the universal human need for work. But the worldwide dislocation of communities forced to migrate in search of it has never been a voluntary process. In Washington dislocation is a dirty, unmentionable secret of the global economy.

Women in a weaving cooperative founded by the Frente in Juxtlahuaca, Oaxaca.

What US immigration policy does not take into account is how the drive for community motivates migration. Current proposals for "guest workers" are the latest form of this denial. Corporate interests have successfully made them the centerpiece of almost all current immigration reform proposals, whether put forth by Republicans or Democrats. By definition, guest workers are admitted on a temporary basis, contracted to employers. They have no right to settle in communities, send their children to school, practice their culture and religion or speak their language. They can't vote or exercise fundamental political or labor rights. They can come only if an employer or a gang-boss recruiter offers them a job. Without constant employment, they have to leave. The assumption is that they are here to work, and only to work.

Sergio Sosa, a Guatemalan organizer of Omaha Together One Community in Nebraska, an organizing project started by the Industrial Areas Foundation, emphasizes that "Mams and Qanjobales face poverty and isolation, even the possible disappearance of their identity. But they didn't choose this. People from Europe and the United States crossed our borders to come to Guatemala and took over our land and economy. Migration is a form of fighting back. Now it's our turn to cross borders."

When they do, though, they confront a second dirty secret of globalization—inequality. Inequality is the most important product of US immigration policy, and a conscious one. The current spate of guest-worker proposals all assume that immigrants should not be treated as the equals of the people around them, or have the same rights. Among the crucial rights denied them is the right to community—both to live in communities of their own creation and to be part of the broader community around them.

Nonetheless, migrants can and do carry community with them, along with traditions of social rights and organization. While living in a settlement of bamboo and plastic tents, for instance, in the reeds beside California's Russian River, Fausto Lopez, a Triqui migrant farm worker, became president of the Sonoma County chapter of the Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations (FIOB). He brought fellow Triquis from their impromptu encampment to marches and demonstrations in California's state capitol, demanding driver's licenses and amnesty for undocumented immigrants. Living in conditions most Americans equate with extreme poverty, they see themselves not as victims but social actors with a right to acceptance both in Mexico and the United States.

"Indigenous Oaxaqueños understand the need for community and organization," says Rufino Domínguez, who coordinates the FIOB. "When people migrate from a community in Oaxaca, in the new places where they settle they form a committee comprised of people from their hometown. This is a tradition they don't lose, wherever they go."

Indigenous migrants from Mexico and Central America overwhelmingly belong to transnational communities like those of Oaxaca's Mixtecs and Triquis, or Guatemala's Mams and Qanjobales. Mixtec scholar Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Jonathan Fox, an authority on Oaxacan migration at the University of California in Santa Cruz, refer to "Oaxacalifornia" as a "space in which migrants bring together their lives in California with their communities of origin more than 2,500 miles away." They might have equally referred to Pueblayork, the title bestowed on New York by a similar flow of indigenous migration from the Mexican state of Puebla. Migrants from Guatemala's Santa Eulalia don't yet call their Midwest community Nebraskamala, but there are enough of them living in Omaha and surrounding meatpacking towns to justify such a nickname. These migrants retain ties to their communities of origin and establish new communities as they migrate in search of work. They move back and forth through these networks, at least to the extent that the difficult passage across borders allows. Their ties to one another are so strong, and the movement of people so great, that in many ways people belong to a single community that exists in different locations, on both sides of the border formally dividing their countries.

For Oaxacans, the formation of communities outside their home state began back when they became the workforce for industrial agriculture in the northern Mexican states of Sinaloa and Baja California. In 1984, as a young man, Domínguez was one of those who left Oaxaca. In Sinaloa, responding to conditions for migrants that were the scandal of Mexico, he formed the Organization of Exploited and Oppressed People. The strikes he helped organize put their abuse before the public eye.

"Often we went into the fields barefoot," remembers Jorge

David Bacon writes frequently about labor and immigration. His book The Children of NAFTA *was published last year by the University of California Press, and his photodocumentary on transnational communities,* Beyond Borders, *is coming out next year from Cornell University/ILR Press. Research for this article was supported by The Nation Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Giron, from the Mixtec town of Santa Maria Tindu, who now lives in Fresno. His wife, Margarita, recalls that in the labor camp "the rooms were made of cardboard, and you could see other families through the holes. When you had to relieve yourself, you went in public because there were no bathrooms. You would go behind a tree or tall grass and squat. People bathed in the river, and further down others would wash their clothes and drink. A lot of people came down with diarrhea and vomiting." The strikes, they say, forced improvements.

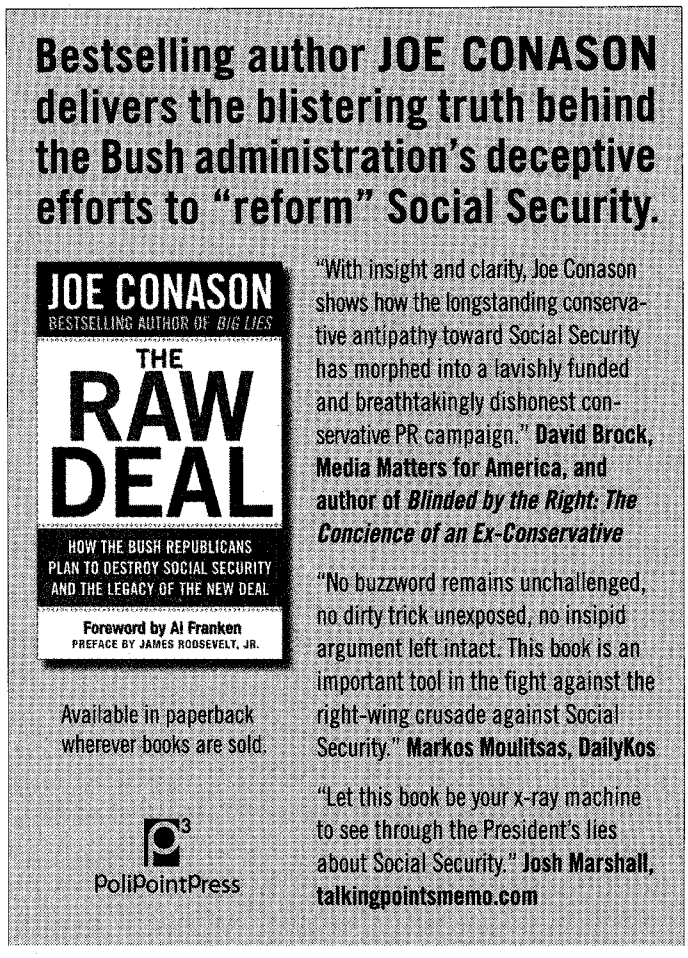
While bad conditions kept the cost of tomatoes low in Los Angeles, they were also a factor motivating people to keep moving north. Domínguez followed the migrant trail to San Quintin on the Baja California peninsula, where he and his friends organized more strikes. Finally he crossed the border, winding up in California's San Joaquin Valley. There he again found Mixtec farm workers from his home state. "I felt like I was in my hometown," he recalls. And just as they had in northern Mexico, Oaxacan migrants formed the Frente, using the network of relationships created by common language, culture and origin.

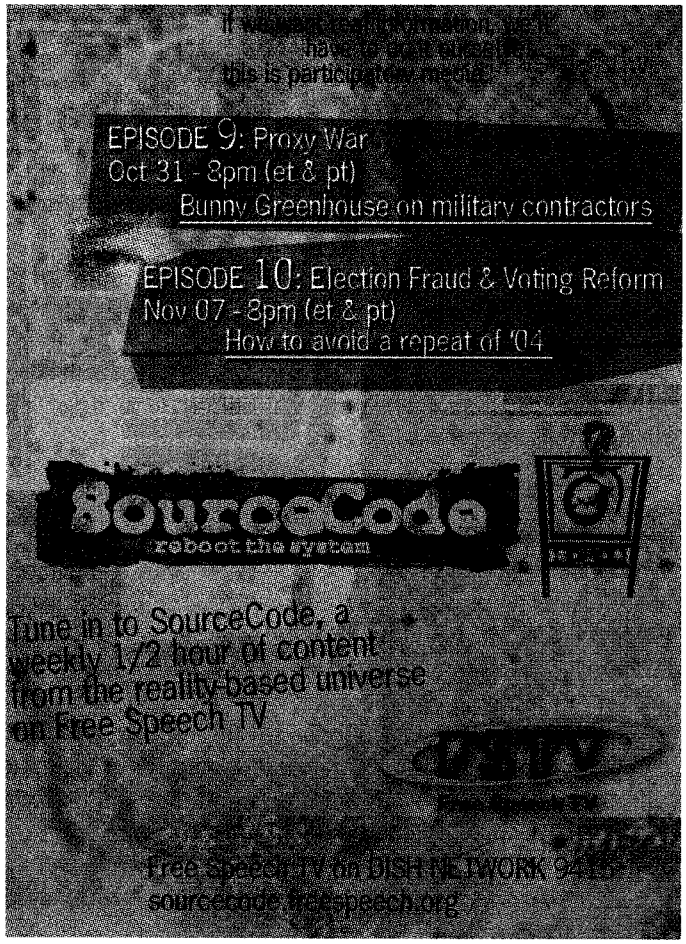
Labor organizing was part of the mix here too. In 1993 FIOB began a collaboration with the United Farm Workers. "We recognized the UFW was a strong union representing agricultural workers," Domínguez explains. "They recognized us as an organization fighting for the rights of indigenous migrants." But it was an uneasy relationship. Mixtec activists felt that UFW members often exhibited the same discriminatory attitudes common among Mexicans back home toward indigenous people. Fighting racism in Mexico, however, had prepared them for this. According to Rivera-Salgado, "the experience of racism enforces a search for cultural identity to resist and creates the possibility of new forms of organization and action."

Even among other organizations of Mexican immigrants FIOB is unique. It is a truly binational organization, with chapters all along the migrant trail. Members adopt one overall political program every three years, while chapters address the distinct problems of indigenous communities in each location.

In Oaxaca in the mid-1990s, the Frente began to help women organize weaving cooperatives and development projects to sustain families in small depopulated towns left behind by migrating men. Taking advantage of its chapters in the United States, the Frente began selling their clothes, textiles and other artisan work in the north, to support the communities in the south. This activity was an embarrassment to the Oaxacan state government, however, which is still run by Mexico's old ruling party, the PRI. Government hostility grew even sharper because FIOB leaders, like high school teacher Romualdo Juan Gutierrez, not only voiced outspoken criticism but allied themselves with Mexico's left-wing Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). Last year Gutierrez was arrested and held in jail on bogus charges of misappropriating a computer, until a binational campaign of telegrams and demonstrations won his release.

"You can't tell a child to study to be a doctor if there is no work for doctors in Mexico," Gutierrez says. "It is a very daunting task for a Mexican teacher to convince students to get an education and stay in the country. If a student sees his older brother migrate to the United States, build a house and buy a car, he will follow. The money brought in by migrants is Mexico's number-one source of income, but the state government only


Bestselling author JOE CONASON delivers the blistering truth behind the Bush administration's deceptive efforts to "reform" Social Security.
JOE CONASON
BESTSELLING AUTHOR OF BIG LIES
THE RAW DEAL
HOW THE BUSH REPUBLICANS PLAN TO DESTROY SOCIAL SECURITY AND THE LEGACY OF THE NEW DEAL
Foreword by Al Franken
PREFACE BY JAMES ROOSEVELT, JR.
Available in paperback wherever books are sold.
PoliPointPress
"With insight and clarity, Joe Conason shows how the longstanding conservative antipathy toward Social Security has morphed into a lavishly funded and breathtakingly dishonest conservative PR campaign." David Brock, Media Matters for America, and author of Blinded by the Right: The Concience of an Ex-Conservative
"No buzzword remains unchallenged, no dirty trick unexposed, no insipid argument left intact. This book is an important tool in the fight against the right-wing crusade against Social Security." Markos Moulitsas, DailyKos
"Let this book be your x-ray machine to see through the President's lies about Social Security." Josh Marshall, talkingpointsmemo.com


EPISODE 9: Proxy War
Oct 31 - 8pm (et & pt)
Bunny Greenhouse on military contractors
EPISODE 10: Election Fraud & Voting Reform
Nov 07 - 8pm (et & pt)
How to avoid a repeat of '04
SourceCode
reboot the system
Tune in to SourceCode, a weekly 1/2 hour of content from the reality-based universe on Free Speech TV
Free Speech TV on DISH NETWORK 9415
sourcecode.freespeech.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

recognizes the migrant community when it is convenient." Like many others on the Mexican left, Gutierrez accuses authorities of relying on remittances from workers to finance social services and public works, which are really the government's responsibility.

In Baja California, south of the border, FIOB activists fight for housing for indigenous migrants. They seek to enforce the old constitutional right of people to settle and build housing on vacant land, a right largely eliminated by the neoliberal economic reforms of former President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Militants like Triqui activist Julio Sandoval have led land invasions in the state's agricultural valleys. Large growers are so threatened that Sandoval was locked up for three years in an Ensenada prison. At FIOB's binational congress in Oaxaca in March, Sandoval declared that "as Mexicans, we have a right to housing, and we will force the government to respect us." Binational pressure was indispensable to winning his release as well.

Today's migrants often arrive in the United States with experience in the radical social movements of their homelands.

FIOB started in California as an organization of Mixtecs and Zapotecs and then broadened to include all Oaxacan indigenous groups. At this year's assembly in Oaxaca, members voted to expand its reach again to include indigenous organizations from Puebla, Guerrero and Michoacan.

Mexican indigenous communities in the United States live at the social margin, and FIOB's activity confronts that fact. It is an organization of cultural activists, mounting an annual celebration of Oaxacan dance, the Guelaguetza, every year. Its organizers work for California Rural Legal Assistance, advising farm workers of their rights in indigenous languages. In fact, FIOB has won the right to Mixtec translation in California courts, a right still not recognized in Mexico. It knits different communities together through basketball tournaments (unlike most Mexicans, Oaxacans prefer this sport to soccer) and leadership training groups for women.

FIOB's organizing strategy grows out of indigenous culture, particularly an institution called the *tequio*. "This is the concept of collective work to support our community," Domínguez says. "Wherever we go, we go united. Even though 513 years have passed since the Spanish conquest, we still speak our language. We want to live our culture and to insure that it won't die."

Part of this culture is participatory democracy, with roots in indigenous village life. The organization's binational assemblies discuss bylaws and political positions. In one of the Frente's defining moments, the 2001 Tijuana assembly removed a longtime leader who was no longer accountable to FIOB's members. A woman, Centolia Maldonado, played the central role in this difficult process—a recognition of new sex roles that are a product of the migration experience, which is changing some of the migrating communities' old patriarchal traditions. FIOB's political platform, adopted at the same assembly, maintains a focus on the problems faced by transnational communities. It condemns US guest-worker proposals and calls for an extension of the rights of citizenship by implementing the decision made in 1996 by the Mexican government to allow its citizens in the United States to vote in Mexican elections.

Discrimination in Mexico is not the only obstacle to preserving indigenous culture. It's not easy for Mixtec and Triqui parents in Fresno to convince their children, born in the United States, to hold fast to language and traditions light-years removed from California schools and movie theaters. The state's ban on bilingual education, and discrimination by local school authorities, make cultural preservation even harder. But while some cultural adaptation is inevitable and sometimes even desirable, the experience of some fifty years of migration argues that economic and social survival depends on maintaining the identity, language and traditions that hold a community together.

Ruben Puentes, director of the transnational communities program at the Rockefeller Foundation, which has supported cultural development among Mexican indigenous migrants (and a photodocumentary project by this author), asks, "Is there today a growing culture of migration itself, a kind of cultural capital that helps communities survive?" He argues that this developing transnational culture does not get adequate consideration in the debate on immigration policy.

Transnational communities play a growing role in the political life of their home countries, changing the very definition of citizenship and residence. This year, for instance, Jesus Martinez-Saldana, a professor at California State University in Fresno, was elected by Michoacan residents to their state legislature. His mandate is to represent the interests of the state's citizens living in the United States. Transnational migrants insist that they have important political and social rights, both in their communities of origin and in their communities abroad.

Today's migrants often come with experience in the radical social movements of their homelands. When Qanjobales and Mams came to Nebraska, their experience dovetailed with efforts already under way in the church parishes of South Omaha to organize meatpacking workers. "Using social networks to organize people is part of our culture," says Nebraska organizer Sergio Sosa. "The art is to transform these networks and connect them with African-Americans and Anglo-Saxons. Latinos can do many things, and this is our moment. But we can't do them alone."

Transnational communities, while often founded around a single indigenous ethnic identity, don't exist in isolation from one another. In Omaha's organizing ferment, the organizing styles of Guatemalans and Mexicans blend, as people reinterpret various traditions of collective action. The alliance among South Omaha's immigrants, the United Food and Commercial Workers and Omaha Together One Community successfully organized one of the city's main meatpacking plants.

Sosa and another activist from Santa Eulalia, Francisco Lorenzo, then started Grupo Ixim with local Guatemalans. *Ixim* is the word for "corn" in all of Guatemala's twenty-three indigenous languages. "It also means the common good—the way that inside an ear of corn all the grains are together," Sosa says.

Like many immigrant groups, Grupo Ixim first jelled around practical goals. "For example, if a fellow countryman were to pass away, we would quickly mobilize to gather money and

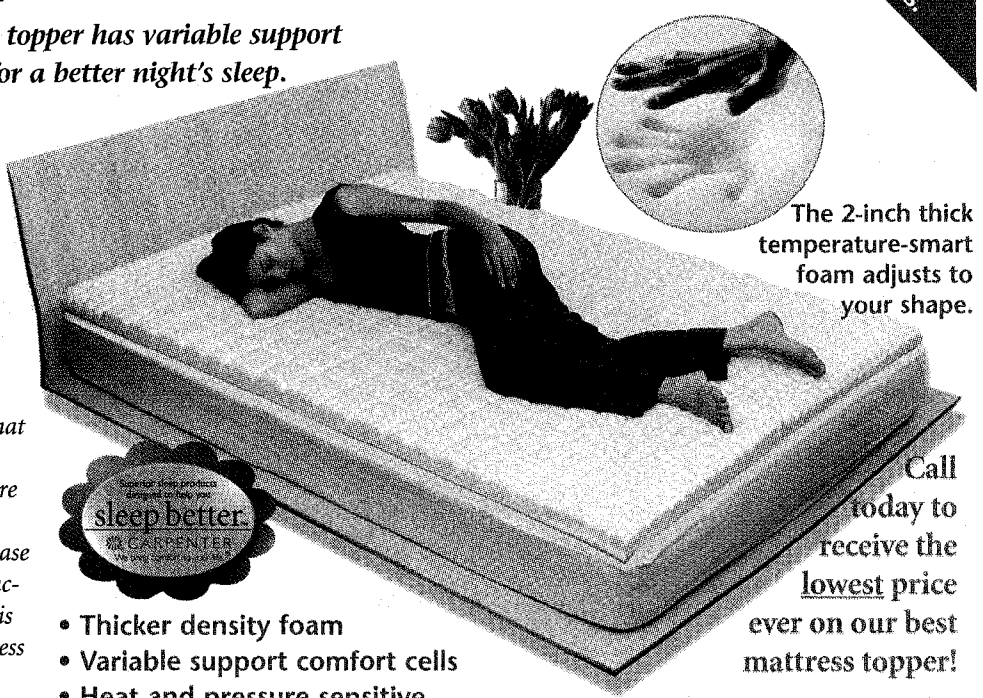
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lowest price ever on the Memory Foam Topper

All prices reduced! Please call for details.

Only this Memory Foam mattress topper features the Sleep Better™ Guarantee!

The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper has variable support comfort cells and thicker density for a better night's sleep.



The 2-inch thick temperature-smart foam adjusts to your shape.

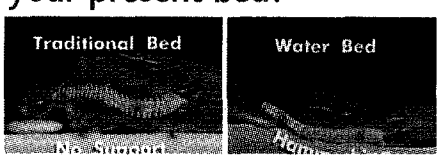
Call today to receive the lowest price ever on our best mattress topper!

- Thicker density foam
- Variable support comfort cells
- Heat and pressure sensitive

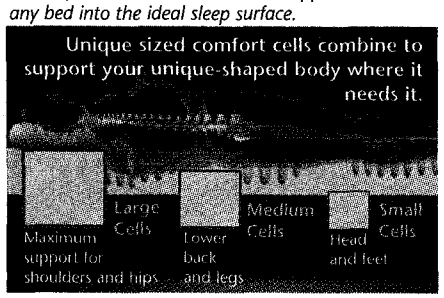
Don't be fooled by inferior mattress toppers that fail to support your spine properly, which can result in pain due to increased pressure on certain parts of your body. Some mattresses, sporting certain degrees of visco-elastic foam, can cost you well over $1000. We are so sure you will be satisfied with not only the quality, but the price of our topper, that we are offering our mattress topper with our exclusive 90-day home trial. If you are not completely satisfied, simply return it within 90 days for the full product purchase price. One of the world's leading manufacturers of foam products has developed this incredibly affordable, high-quality mattress topper that can actually change the way you sleep. Introducing the future of a better night's sleep: The ***Memory Foam Ultra*** *mattress topper.*

Sleep Better™...Wake up to a better morning. The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is designed to give you a better sleep surface. Not only does it support each region of your body, but it's also temperature sensitive. With its various-sized "comfort cells," the 2-inch thick Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper combines six zones to support specific body area weight, which promotes a better night's sleep. The largest cells support your lower back and midsection, while the medium-sized cells support the shoulders, lower back and legs. The smallest cells support your head and feet. Combined, these zones provide variable support from head to toe. By using visco-elastic foam, the Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper also molds to your body contours to help prevent tossing and turning during the night. When you lie down on this amazing material, the heat and pressure sensitive foam reacts to your body's weight and temperature, so that it molds to your exact body shape. This means that whether you sleep on your back, stomach or side, your weight is evenly distributed and your spine remains in a neutral position. Other surfaces support your body at the shoulders, hips and legs only. This causes your spine to sag in other areas, which can often result in discomfort, and even back pain. You'll wake up rested, relaxed and ready to take on the day. Anyone who suffers from insomnia and back pain due to mattress discomfort can benefit from this technology.

What could be wrong with your present bed?



The ideal position is a neutral body posture in which the different parts of the human body are supported individually and evenly. This is the secret behind Memory Foam Ultra, the mattress topper that turns any bed into the ideal sleep surface.


Unique sized comfort cells combine to support your unique-shaped body where it needs it.
Large Cells
Medium Cells
Small Cells
Maximum support for shoulders and hips
Lower back and legs
Head and feet

Try it for yourself and enjoy a good night's sleep! The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper can change the way you sleep. Promote proper spine positioning, while enjoying relief from insomnia and back pain with this full-body support. It comes with a 5-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive in-home trial.

Memory Foam Ultra Mattress Topper:
Item# 2P-4117

Lowest prices ever 3... 2 payments of

Twin	$39.95 ea + s&h
Twin XL	$49.95 ea + s&h
Full	$49.95 ea + s&h
Queen	$69.95 ea + s&h
King	$74.95 ea + s&h
CA King	$79.95 ea + s&h

Please mention promotional code 30554.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-233-3565

We accept all major credit cards, as well as payment by check with ClearTran™ over the phone. To order by mail, please call for details

www.memoryfoamtopper.com

*first*STREET™
SEE IT HERE FIRST
formerly TechnoScout®

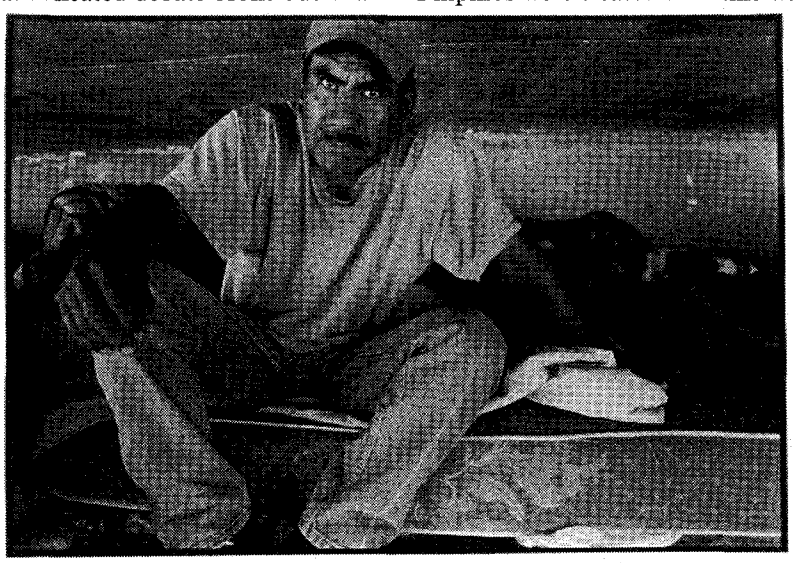
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2005 *first*STREET, Inc.

41353

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

send the body to Guatemala," explains Jesus Martinez, a meatpacking worker. Ixim groups have also been organized in Chicago, Los Angeles and other US cities. In the Nebraska group, tension surfaced last year between those who see its function mainly as cultural preservation and others who want more politics. Two years ago Rodolfo Bobadilla, Bishop of Huehuetenango and a former disciple of assassinated Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, visited his parishioners living in Omaha. A heated debate broke out in a back room at the welcoming fiesta. Martinez, Sosa and their allies proposed to give the bishop a letter to take home, expressing the sentiment of Guatemalans in the United States about the country's national election. Former general Efraín Ríos Montt, the president who ordered the bloodiest massacres of the 1980s, was once again a candidate. Ixim's activists wanted to remind their countrymen about this terrible past, which has much to do with the fact that so many Guatemalans now live in exile. In the end, they voted to send the letter.



Juan Guzman, a Chatino from Oaxaca, lives under a bridge in Sonoma County, California.

Migration has complicated social costs and benefits in communities of origin. It threatens cultural practices and indigenous languages. It exacerbates social and economic divisions in small rural towns, as families with access to remittances sent home by relatives bid up land prices beyond the reach of families without that access. San Miguel now boasts a number of large modern houses owned by refugees of 1982 who live in the United States. With no economic development at home, migration has become a necessity. The ability to emigrate increasingly determines social and economic status in communities of origin.

The creation of transnational communities is a global phenomenon. They exist at different stages of development in the worldwide flow of migrants from developing to developed countries. According to Migrant Rights International, more than 130 million people live outside the countries in which they were born—a permanent feature of life on the planet.

Immigration policy in almost all developed industrial countries is institutionalizing this global flow of migration, as well as the roles of countries that employ it (like the United States) and those that produce the migrants (like Mexico and Guatemala). The main mechanism is guest-worker programs, which assign to the migrants' communities of origin the function of providing a labor pool for the production of future workers while offering no support in return. Instead, home communities depend on remittances from migrants. Mexican President Vicente Fox boasts that some of the world's most impoverished workers send home more than $18 billion annually—a contribution to the economy approaching those of both oil and tourism.

FIOB's Los Angeles coordinator, Odilia Romero, predicts that "expanded guest-worker programs will lead to the wholesale violation of migrants' rights." In previous periods when US immigration policy valued immigrants only for their labor power, it produced extremely abusive systems. The memory of the bracero program, which ran from 1942 to 1964, is so bitter that even today defenders of guest-worker schemes avoid association with the name. But before the braceros came, Filipinos were treated the same way—as a mobile, vulnerable workforce, circulated from labor camp to labor camp for more than half a century. And before them the Japanese and Chinese, all the way back to slavery.

Today, guest workers are brought from tiny Guatemalan towns to the pine forests of the American East and South. Their experience is remarkably similar [see Bacon, "Be Our Guests," September 27, 2004]. US immigration policy doesn't deter the flow of migrants across the border. Its basic function is defining the status of people once they're here. Guest-worker programs undermine both workplace and community rights, affecting nonimmigrants as well. They inhibit the development of families and culture, denying everyone what newcomers can offer.

The alternative is a policy that recognizes and values transnational communities. A pro-people, anticorporate immigration policy sees the creation and support of communities as a desirable goal. It reinforces indigenous culture and language, protects the rights of everyone and seeks to integrate immigrants into the broader US society.

The United Nations' International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families proposes this kind of framework, establishing equality of treatment with citizens of the host country. Both sending and receiving countries are responsible for protecting migrants and retain the right to determine who is admitted to their territories and who has the right to work. Predictably, the countries that have ratified it are the sending countries. Those countries most interested in guest-worker schemes, like the United States, have not.

"Another amnesty is part of the alternative also," says Sosa, "but ten years from now we're going to face the same situation again if we don't change the way we treat other countries. Treaties like CAFTA insure that this will happen." Today working people of all countries are asked to accept continuing globalization, in which capital is free to go wherever it can earn the highest profits. Sosa argues that migrants must have the same freedom, with rights and status equal to those of anyone else. "I come from a faith tradition," he concludes. "Faith crosses borders. It says, This world is our world, for all of us." ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hear what you've been missing.

The Bose® Wave® music system.

Forbes FYI
"Turn it up, close your eyes and you'll think you're listening to a...sound system that costs five times more."

AudioVideo International
"...deeper bass and more accurate reproduction of the sound of musical instruments..."

Jonathan Takiff, *Philadelphia Daily News*
"This sleek, compact music maker couldn't be easier to operate. Yet sophisticated technology hidden inside makes this an extraordinary performer."

Stephen Williams, *Newsday*
"There are critical listeners who could make the new Wave their primary home music system; the clarity and detail are that pronounced."

Shown in Graphite Gray.

Call 1-800-901-0180, ext. TG710 to experience the acclaimed sound of the Bose® Wave® music system. And hear for yourself what the critics are talking about.

It sounds even better than the legendary Wave® radio/CD. Listen to your favorite CD, MP3 CD or FM/AM radio station on the Wave® music system. You'll hear it reproduce one-half octave lower musical notes than its award-winning predecessor, giving instruments like kettle drums and bass guitars a more natural presence. Plus, significant improvements in clarity and definition let you hear and appreciate even more of the intricate nuances of many instruments – including the human voice. When David Novak, the Gadget Guy, listened for himself, he said, "It can easily replace whatever component system you currently have."

You'll also enjoy enhanced simplicity and elegance. With the Wave® music system, enjoying premium sound could not be easier. Just plug it in. Every feature and function is easily controlled using the credit card-style remote. And there are no confusing buttons or dials to adjust in the pursuit of tonal balance – that's handled automatically for you. All you see is a sleek, all-in-one unit that neatly encloses what *MetroWest Daily News* calls a "simplified break from traditional sound systems."

FREE shipping with your order.

You have 30 days to listen – risk free. The Wave® music system is available directly from Bose, the most respected name in sound. Our Excitement Guarantee gives you 30 days to listen in your own home. When you call, be sure to ask about our payment plan, which lets you use your own major credit card to make **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.*

Hear the Wave® music system for yourself. Compare the sound, side by side, to much larger and more expensive systems. You will appreciate our request when you make this comparison.

TO ORDER OR LEARN MORE, CALL TODAY
1-800-901-0180
EXT. TG710
Discover all our innovative products at
www.bose.com/tg710

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State____ Zip_____
Phone_____ E-mail (Optional)_____
Mail to: Bose Corp., Dept. DMG-TG710, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

*Bose payment plan available on orders of $349-$1500 paid by major credit card. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus tax. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2005 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The distinctive design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and free shipping offer not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quote is reprinted with permission: Thomas Jackson, *Forbes FYI*, Winter 2004.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AS GOP CORRUPTION PILES UP, IT'S TIME FOR DEMOCRATS TO CLEAN THE STABLES.

A *Real* Contract With America

ROBERT L. BOROSAGE

IGOR KOPELNITSKY

Lethal incompetence and indifference in Katrina's wake. Republican House boss Tom DeLay indicted—twice. Senate Republican leader Bill Frist under investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission. "Casino Jack" Abramoff's cynical cesspool of conservative corruption. Stagnant wages and rising prices. Quagmire in Iraq. Have Americans had enough? Will Katrina and corruption threaten the right's hold over Congress and open a broader challenge to the conservatism that has dominated our politics over the past twenty-five years? It's possible—but only if Democrats can make themselves a compelling force for change.

1994 and the Gingrich Revolt

The last successful effort to nationalize Congressional races in a nonpresidential year came in 1994, when Newt Gingrich and movement conservatives unfurled their Contract With America and shocked themselves by gaining fifty-four seats to take control of Congress, ending forty years of Democratic rule. That election offers pointed lessons for Democrats hoping for a similar reversal twelve years later.

Conservatives like to paint 1994 as a noble campaign run on ideas and values, with Republicans offering voters a concrete agenda and a principled choice. The reality was something different. The right set up the election with two years of unrelenting, scorched-earth assault on the newly elected Bill Clinton. The resignation under a cloud of the Democratic Speaker and minority whip, the indictment of a powerful committee chair and the post office and House banking scandals helped Gingrich paint Democrats as corrupt, arrogant and out of touch.

Gingrich's Contract With America was a notably cynical document. The controversial social passions of the conservative base—abortion, school prayer, guns—were left out. The Contract promised a balanced-budget amendment to appeal to Perot voters but also more tax cuts. It called for term limits for legislators that few would observe. Most of the measures were poll-tested conservative staples—tax cuts, a bigger military, tough on crime and welfare, plus the inevitable corporate pandering of "tort reform" and deregulation.

Substance was less important than symbol. Republicans had a specific plan that included bold political reform, and they promised to be held accountable. Despite Democratic attacks, most voters didn't know the details, yet the Contract helped the GOP present itself as a unified party with a positive plan for change.

Robert L. Borosage is co-director of the Campaign for America's Future and board president of Progressive Majority.

2006: A Liberal Revolution?

Twelve years later Democrats face a far more forbidding challenge in attempting to nationalize the election. Reapportionment has left fewer contested districts. The political machine built by the right still has no Democratic equivalent. In 1994 the country was at peace. Now the Iraq War—even as Americans turn against it—divides Democratic politicians from their voters. Rebuilding after the Katrina catastrophe blurs partisan differences on the role of government. Yet the potential for a landmark election is clear. The corruption and crony capitalism of the Republican Congress and Administration are sources of unending scandal; it is simply the way they do business. The folks who came to make a revolution stayed to run a racket, and independent voters might well conclude that it's time for them to go. Moreover, Katrina exposed the tragic costs of the conservative scorn for government, and it brought to public attention the spreading poverty that marks Bush's failed economic policies.

Just as Clinton and the Democratic Congress's failure to deliver on a central promise—affordable healthcare—turned voters off in 1994, heading FEMA with incompetent cronies exposed the fact that Bush and the Republicans punted on the central promise they made after 9/11—that they would keep America safe. And the response to Katrina revealed how out of touch the antigovernment crowd is. To defend the Administration's ineptitude, they sang from the conservative hymnal, charging that the Administration's failures prove big government doesn't work (the Cato Institute even called once more for abolishing FEMA). They blamed the victims, or as Linda Chavez, head of the Civil Rights Commission under Reagan, said of those who were stranded: "You are dealing with the permanently poor—people who don't have jobs, are not used to getting up and organizing themselves...and for whom sitting and waiting is a way of life." Senator Rick Santorum called for "tougher penalties on those who decide to ride it out." (He later amended this to exempt the one-fifth of the population in the Katrina disaster area that did not own a car.) But Karl Rove realized this wouldn't sell, so Bush vowed to spend whatever it takes to rebuild the Gulf Coast, while ruling out any rollback of his top-end tax cuts to pay for it. Conservatives then detailed offsetting spending cuts—mostly in Medicaid and Medicare, as well as other poverty programs—that would only add to the misery of the most vulnerable.

Americans are clearly looking for a way out. Bush's approval numbers have tanked. Congress stands in low repute, with Republican declines giving Democrats strong leads in generic Congressional face-offs. Pessimism about the country's course

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Explore the supreme art crafted by the Renaissance Masters with expert art historian and lecturer William Kloss

in *Great Artists of the Italian Renaissance* now on DVD and videotape

No era of artistic achievement is as renowned as the Renaissance, and no country holds a higher place in that period than Italy. The supreme works created in Florence, Rome, Venice, and other Italian cities by such masters as Leonardo da Vinci, Botticelli, Michelangelo, Raphael, and Titian have never been equaled and have established a canon of beauty that pervades Western culture to this day.

To view these works is to enter a world that is incomparably rich, filled with emotion and drama that is palpable, though sometimes mysterious to our modern sensibility. To study these works with an expert is to penetrate that mystery and gain a new appreciation for how these masterpieces were created and what they meant to the artists and people of the time.

Professor William Kloss is your expert guide through this visual feast in an artist-centered survey that explores hundreds of different paintings and sculptures by scores of different artists.

Examine Works by More Than 40 Great Artists

These lectures cover the art historical periods known as the Early Renaissance and the High Renaissance, which extended from about 1400 to 1520 and were rooted most deeply in Florence, Italy. Some 500 images of paintings, sculptures, prints, drawings, maps, buildings, and architectural details are featured.

Many works are explored in considerable depth, accompanied by searching commentary. Professor Kloss also includes explanations of Italian terms, evaluations of artistic genres and styles, and detailed descriptions of techniques such as fresco and linear perspective.

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2:00 p.m. eastern time ship that same day. Order before October 31, 2005 to receive these savings.

© Wood River Gallery.

Lady with an Ermine (Probably Cecilia Gallerani, mistress of Lodovico Sforza), by Leonardo da Vinci, c.1490, Czartorysky Museum, Cracow, Poland.

About Your Professor

Professor William Kloss is an independent art historian and frequent lecturer for the Smithsonian Institution's seminar and travel program. He has served on the Committee for the Preservation of the White House by presidential appointment since 1990, and he is the author of several books and exhibition catalogs.

About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 2,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

Italy and the Renaissance ... From Gothic to Renaissance ... Brunelleschi and Ghiberti in Florence ... Donatello and Luca della Robbia ... Masaccio ... Masaccio—The Brancacci Chapel ... Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi ... Three Specialists ... Donatello and Padua ... Piero della Francesca—Individual Works ... Piero della Francesca—Legend of the True Cross ... Pageant of Life in Renaissance Florence ... The Heroic Nude ... Sculpture Small and Large ... Botticelli—Spirituality and Sensuality ... Botticelli and the Trouble in Italy ... Filippino Lippi ... Leonardo da Vinci—Portraits and Altarpieces ... Leonardo da Vinci—The Last Supper ... Michelangelo—Florentine Works ... Michelangelo—Roman Projects ... Michelangelo—The Sistine Chapel Ceiling ... Raphael—Madonnas and Portraits ... Raphael—History Paintings ... Urbino—Microcosm of Renaissance Civilization ... Andrea Mantegna in Padua and Mantua ... Venice—Byzantine, Gothic, and Renaissance ... Celebrating the Living City ... Giovanni Bellini—The Early Years ... Antonello da Messina and Giovanni Bellini ... Giovanni Bellini—The Late Years ... Giorgione ... Giorgione or Titian? ... Titian—The Early Years ... A Culture in Crisis ... The Renaissance Reformed

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

SAVE UP TO $275!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL OCTOBER 31, 2005

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/9ntn

THE Great Courses®
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 19475

Please send me **Great Artists of the Italian Renaissance**, which consists of 36 half-hour lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

☐ **DVD $99.95** (std. price $374.95) **SAVE $275!**
plus $15 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.

☐ **Videotape $79.95** (std. price $299.95) **SAVE $220!**
plus $15 shipping, processing, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.

☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQ page at our website for details.
**Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/9ntn
Offer Good Through: October 31, 2005

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has deepened, along with opposition to Bush's signature policies—privatizing Social Security, the Iraq War and trickle-down economics. As home-heating bills soar this winter, disaffection with the crowd in power is likely to grow.

Can Democrats Get Their Groove Back?

Democrats are likely to pick up seats next year just by continuing to hammer at GOP failures and corruption. But to engineer a landmark election that dislodges incumbents and marks a fundamental shift, Democrats have to make themselves the party of change, championing an activist government in service to the common good. House leader Nancy Pelosi has stated that Democrats are working up their version of a Contract.

In concept, the task isn't too difficult. Simply putting forth popular progressive alternatives that contrast with glaring Republican failures would provide a clear platform for change. Central elements could include:

§ **Crack Down on Corruption:** In contrast to conservative cronyism, shut the revolving door between corporate lobbies and high office. Prohibit legislators, their senior aides and executive branch political appointees from lobbying for two years after leaving office. Require detailed public reporting of all contacts between lobbyists and legislators. Pledge to apply this to all, regardless of party. Take the big money out of politics by pushing for clean elections legislation.

§ **Make America Safe:** Commit to an independent investigation of the Department of Homeland Security's failures in response to Katrina. Detail action on the urgent needs that this Administration has ignored: Improve port security, bolster first responders and public health capacity, and require adequate defense planning by high-risk chemical plants. End the pork-barrel squandering of security funds.

§ **Unleash New Energy for America:** In contrast to the Big Oil policies of the Administration that leave us more dependent on foreign supplies, pledge to launch a concerted drive for energy independence like the one called for by the Apollo Alliance. Create new jobs by investing in efficiency and alternative energy sources, helping America capture the growing green industries of the future.

§ **Rebuild America First:** Rescind Bush's tax cuts for the rich and corporations, which create more jobs in China than here, and use that money to put people to work building the infrastructure vital to a high-wage economy. Start with challenging the Administration's trickle-down plans for the Gulf Coast, which will victimize once more those who suffered the most.

§ **Make Work Pay:** In contrast to the Bush economy, in which profits and CEO salaries soar while workers' wages stagnate and jobs grow insecure, put government on the side of workers. Raise the minimum wage. Empower workers to join unions by allowing card-check enrollment. Pay the prevailing wage in government contracts. Stop subsidizing the export of jobs abroad.

§ **Make Healthcare Affordable for All:** Pledge to fix America's broken healthcare system, with the goal of moving to universal, affordable healthcare by 2015. Start by reversing the Republican sellout to the pharmaceutical industry by empowering Medicare to bargain down costs and by allowing people to purchase drugs from safe outlets abroad.

§ **Protect Retirement Security:** In contrast to Bush's plan to dismantle Social Security, pledge to strengthen it and to require companies to treat the shop floor like the top floor when it comes to pensions and healthcare.

§ **Keep the Promise of Opportunity:** Instead of Republican plans to cut eligibility for college grants and to limit loans, offer a contract to American students: If they graduate from high school, they will be able to afford the college or higher technical training they have earned. Pay for this by preserving the tax on the wealthiest multimillion-dollar estates in America.

§ **Refocus on Real Security for America:** In contrast with Bush's pledge to stay in Iraq indefinitely, sapping our military and breeding terrorists, put forth a firm timeline for removing the troops from Iraq. Use the money saved to invest in security at home. Lead an aggressive international alliance to track down stateless terrorists, to get loose nukes under control and to fight nuclear proliferation.

These proposals are concrete, doable and poll well. They pose a sharp contrast to the priorities of the Republican Congress. Other measures or different framing could be proposed as well.

But gaining widespread agreement from risk-averse politicians—even on a poll-tested agenda—isn't easy. In 1994 many Republicans thought Gingrich's Contract was political folly, giving Democrats something to attack when they were down. Most Republican Senate candidates would have nothing to do with it. Some worried that excluding the right's social issues would alienate their base. The Contract was far more popular with the challengers Gingrich had helped groom than with incumbents.

Those same problems bedevil today's Democrats. As the corruption of the Republican majority makes headlines, Democrats continue to observe the truce against filing ethics complaints. Rahm Emanuel, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, has even found it hard to get Democrats to unite behind basic reforms that would apply to them, like banning legislators from taking lucrative lobbying posts after leaving office. Calls to invest in energy independence and affordable college education poll off the charts, but Democrats are reluctant to support any large new investments in the face of Bush's deficits. Democrats who went through the collapse of Hillarycare shudder at the thought of taking on our broken health system. Controlling drug prices is a natural, but the drug-company lobby insures that even the Democratic leadership splits on this question. It is hard to present yourself as a party of change if you're not ready to break with the present.

Iraq poses the hardest questions. Democrats in office are deeply divided on the occupation, which their base overwhelmingly opposes. If they could, Democratic leaders would deal with Iraq the way Gingrich treated right-wing social issues, omitting it from any common platform, arguing that it isn't a problem voters expect Congress to solve and that Americans want more attention paid to domestic concerns anyway. But ducking on the war is likely to dismay more than Democratic activists. By next fall the war will have cost many more lives and more than $250 billion. With no compelling domestic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agenda, Bush and the Republicans may seek to turn the election into a referendum on who stands with the troops. If they don't face the issue, Democrats will look like they're playing politics with the nation's security. And if they remain divided, Democrats will be hard pressed to say they are ready to lead.

Gingrich was able to pull off the Contract in 1994 partly because Republicans were ready to try anything after four decades in the minority. Gingrich also had built a farm team of candidates who were willing to follow his lead. And he had the support of an independent conservative movement on the march against Clinton and the Democratic Congress. If Democrats are to find their voice in 2006, it will take aggressive leaders who are willing to take big risks and overcome internal opposition as well as a strong citizen's movement that's driving the attack against the right and pushing Democrats to stand up.

It took DeLay's Republicans barely a decade to grow even more arrogant and corrupt than the old order they had challenged. The yet-unanswered question is whether Democratic politicians and progressive activists are as determined and desperate after a decade in the wilderness as Republicans were after forty years. ■

Building a New Table

As New Yorkers marked the fourth anniversary of the September 11 attacks, our television screens flickered with ghastly images of devastation on the Gulf Coast. Even after what we'd been through, it was hard to grasp the scale of this disaster. But when members of Congress began to talk about modeling reconstruction on post-9/11 programs that ended up gentrifying New York and hurting the poor, those of us who worked to bring community perspectives into that process couldn't help feeling that our experience might yield some lessons for folks in New Orleans, Biloxi and other ravaged communities.

Progressives sometimes talk about not just having a seat at the table but building a new table. In New York a fragmented civil society came together after 9/11 and, to a significant degree, built a new table. Immediately following the attacks, the Fiscal Policy Institute, where I work, and the New York City Central Labor Council called together all the groups in our Rolodexes. We had no clear plans, but at a time when attention was focused on disaster relief, we wanted to begin the conversation about rebuilding. Several other clusters of discussion merged with ours, and around December 2001 we gave ourselves a name: the Labor Community Advocacy Network to Rebuild New York (LCAN).

Our organizing principle was that we were a network, not a coalition. We didn't want to be naïve about the difficulty of bringing like-minded groups together in one big happy family. After several months of discussions, we put together a draft document that focused on our key issues: jobs, housing, environmental justice and linking lower Manhattan to the rest of the city. In the end, more than fifty groups signed on to the LCAN agenda, including unions, immigrant rights groups and neighborhood organizations.

At the same time, other networks were evolving in the city, bringing together planners, architects and neighborhood activists. A small number of networks, including the umbrella Civic Alliance, was able to reach into all corners of city life. Hundreds of organizations were in regular communication, allowing us to see quickly where there was a "civic consensus"—and where there wasn't. Meanwhile, several thousand community members became deeply informed and extremely articulate about the staggeringly complex issues involved in rebuilding.

Could something similar take shape on the Gulf Coast? It will be no small challenge, with the population so widely dispersed and the devastated area so massive. But broad networks can give people a voice in discussions that are usually limited to real estate developers and government officials: Will the rebuilt economy be all tourism and oil? What kinds of infrastructure investments make the most sense? And—enormously important given the economic inequities laid bare by Hurricane Katrina—who benefits from the rebuilding funds already starting to stream in?

In New York we saw program after program that heightened inequality rather than reducing it. Residential "Liberty Bonds," for instance, gave tax-exempt financing to super-luxury apartments, pushing low-income people out. When real estate interests were lined up together, even a strong civic consensus was usually not enough to overcome them. But when commercial interests were divided, our networks managed some impressive victories. After a four-year campaign, the governor and mayor recently proposed that $500 million go to parks, affordable housing, support for local arts and cultural institutions, and local economic development—all designed to improve living standards in poor and working-class communities.

A word of caution: When Washington starts talking about $100 billion or more coming to the Gulf Coast, don't be fooled. Building faith in government requires spending public funds the right way. In New York public officials have wasted billions of dollars on tax incentives, tax-free financing and grants to large corporations like Goldman Sachs. What's important to economic development is making sure public dollars are spent on public goods. Sound infrastructure—good transportation, water supply, cultural institutions, affordable housing, parks and schools—is key. But not all infrastructure investments are equal. In New York, real estate interests are currently pushing for a massively expensive commuter train that would go nonstop from the suburbs to the doorsteps of their fancy office complexes. Similarly, on the Gulf Coast, infrastructure that serves casinos and tourism will not always benefit neighborhoods and local businesses.

There have already been discouraging reports of crony capitalism on the Gulf Coast. But that kind of corruption is not the only concern. In New York the worst abuses happened right out in the open, with billions of dollars in public funds subsidizing huge companies and gentrifying neighborhoods. It would be a further tragedy if this were the result on the Gulf Coast.

DAVID DYSSEGAARD KALLICK

David Dyssegaard Kallick is senior fellow at the Fiscal Policy Institute and coordinator of the Labor Community Advocacy Network to Rebuild New York. An open letter from New York civic groups to Gulf Coast residents, with more detailed lessons from the post-9/11 reconstruction, is available at www.goodjobsny.org.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION IS SPOILING FOR A NEW COLD WAR IN THE FAR EAST.

Revving Up the China Threat

MICHAEL T. KLARE

Ever since taking office, the Bush Administration has struggled to define its stance on the most critical long-term strategic issue facing the United States: whether to view China as a future military adversary, and plan accordingly, or to see it as a rival player in the global capitalist system. Representatives of both perspectives are nestled in top Administration circles, and there have been periodic swings of the pendulum toward one side or the other. But after a four-year period in which neither outlook appeared dominant, the pendulum has now swung conspicuously toward the anti-Chinese, prepare-for-war position. Three events signal this altered stance.

IGOR KOPELNITSKY

The first, on February 19, was the adoption of an official declaration calling for enhanced security ties between the United States and Japan. Known officially as the "Joint Statement of the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee," the declaration was announced at a meeting of top Japanese and US officials, including Defense Secretary Rumsfeld and Secretary of State Rice. The very fact that US and Japanese officials were discussing improved security links at this time was deeply troubling to the Chinese, given their painful exposure to Japanese militarism during World War II and their ongoing anxiety about US plans to construct an anti-Chinese alliance in Asia. But what most angered Beijing was the declaration's call for linked US-Japanese efforts to "encourage the peaceful resolution of issues concerning the Taiwan Strait through dialogue." While sounding relatively innocuous to American ears, this announcement was viewed in Beijing as highly provocative, representing illicit interference by Washington and Tokyo in China's internal affairs. The official New China News Agency described the joint declaration as "unprecedented" and quoted a senior foreign ministry official as saying that China "resolutely opposes the United States and Japan in issuing any bilateral document concerning China's Taiwan, which meddles in the internal affairs of China and hurts China's sovereignty."

The second key event was a speech Rumsfeld gave June 4 at a strategy conference in Singapore. After reviewing current security issues in Asia, especially the threat posed by a nuclear North Korea, Rumsfeld turned his attention to China. The Chinese can play a constructive role in addressing these issues, he observed. "A candid discussion of China...cannot neglect to mention areas of concern to the region." In particular, he suggested that China "appears to be expanding its missile forces, allowing them to reach targets in many areas of the world," and is otherwise "improving its ability to project power" in the region. Then, with consummate disingenuousness, he stated, "Since no nation threatens China, one must wonder: Why this growing investment? Why these continuing large and expanding arms purchases? Why these continuing robust deployments?"

To Beijing, these comments must have been astonishing. No one threatens China? What about the US planes and warships that constantly hover off the Chinese coast, and the nuclear-armed US missiles aimed at China? What about the delivery over the past ten years of ever more potent US weapons to Taiwan? But disingenuousness aside, Rumsfeld's comments exhibited a greater degree of belligerence toward China than had been expressed in any official US statements since 9/11, and were widely portrayed as such in the American and Asian press.

The third notable event was the release, in July, of the Pentagon's report on Chinese combat capabilities, *The Military Power of the People's Republic of China*. According to press reports, publication of this unclassified document was delayed for several weeks in order to remove or soften some of the more pointedly anti-Chinese comments, to avoid further provoking China before George W. Bush's November visit there. In many ways the published version is judicious in tone, stressing the weaknesses as well as the strengths of China's military establishment. Nevertheless, the main thrust of the report is that China is expanding its capacity to fight wars beyond its own territory and that this effort constitutes a dangerous challenge to global order. "The pace and scope of China's military build-up are, already, such as to put regional military balances at risk," the report states. "Current trends in China's military modernization could provide China with a force capable of prosecuting a range of military operations in Asia—well beyond Taiwan—potentially posing a credible threat to modern militaries operating in the region."

This annual report, mandated by Congress in 2000, is intended as a comprehensive analysis, not a policy document. However, the policy implications of the 2005 report are self-evident: If China is acquiring a greater capacity to threaten "modern militaries operating in the region"—presumably including those of the United States and Japan—then urgent action is needed to offset Chinese military initiatives. For this very reason the document triggered a firestorm of criticism in China. "This report ignores fact in order to do everything it can to disseminate the 'China threat theory,'" a senior foreign ministry official told the American ambassador at a hastily arranged meeting. "It crudely interferes in China's internal affairs and is a provocation against China's relations with other countries."

Michael T. Klare, The Nation*'s defense correspondent, is a professor of peace and world security studies at Hampshire College. He is the author, most recently, of* Blood and Oil *(Owl).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

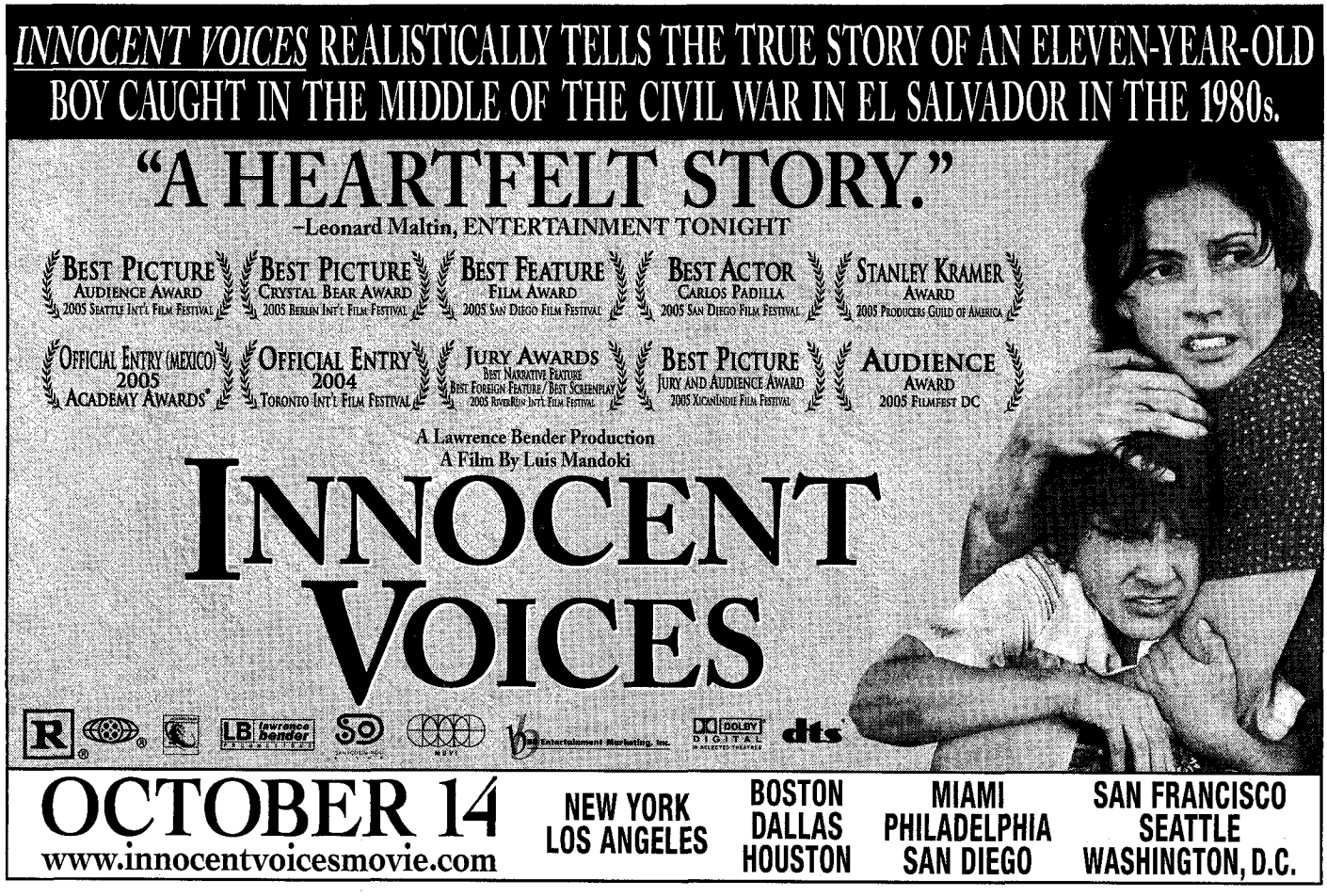
While much of this was going on, the American public and mass media were preoccupied with another source of tension between the United States and China: the attempted purchase of the California-based Unocal Corporation by the Chinese National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC). This attempt received far greater attention in the media than did the events described above, yet it will have a far less significant impact on US-Chinese relations than will the Pentagon's shift to a more belligerent, anti-Chinese stance—one that greatly increases the likelihood of a debilitating and dangerous military competition between the United States and China.

What lies behind this momentous shift? At its root is the continuing influence of conservative strategists who have long championed a policy of permanent US military supremacy. This outlook was first expressed in 1992 in the Defense Planning Guidance (DPG) for fiscal years 1994–99, a master blueprint for US dominance in the post–cold war era. Prepared under the supervision of then–Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and leaked to the press in early 1992, the DPG called for concerted efforts to prevent the rise of a future military competitor. "Our first objective is to prevent the re-emergence of a new rival...that poses a threat on the order of that posed formerly by the Soviet Union," the document stated. Accordingly, "we [must] endeavor to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power." This has remained the guiding principle for US supremacists ever since.

In this new century the injunction to prevent the emergence of a new rival "that poses a threat on the order of that posed formerly by the Soviet Union" can apply only to China, as no other potential adversary possesses a credible capacity to "generate global power." Hence the preservation of American supremacy into "the far realm of the future," as then–Governor George W. Bush put it in a 1999 campaign speech, required the permanent containment of China—and this is what Rice, Rumsfeld and their associates set out to do when they assumed office in early 2001.

This project was well under way when the 9/11 attacks occurred. As noted by many analysts on the left, 9/11 gave the neoconservatives a green light to implement their ambitious plans to extend US power around the world. Although the shift in emphasis from blocking future rivals to fighting terrorism seemed vital to a large majority of the American people, it troubled those in the permanent-supremacy crowd who felt that momentum was being lost in the grand campaign to constrain China. Moreover, antiterrorism places a premium on special forces and low-tech infantry, rather than on the costly sophisticated fighters and warships needed for combat against a major military power. For at least some US strategists, not to mention giant military contractors, then, the "war on terror" was seen as a distraction that had to be endured until the time was ripe for a resumption of the anti-Chinese initiatives begun in February 2001. That moment seems to have arrived.

Why now? Several factors explain the timing of this shift. The first, no doubt, is public fatigue with the "war on terror"


INNOCENT VOICES REALISTICALLY TELLS THE TRUE STORY OF AN ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD BOY CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CIVIL WAR IN EL SALVADOR IN THE 1980s.
"A HEARTFELT STORY."
–Leonard Maltin, ENTERTAINMENT TONIGHT
BEST PICTURE AUDIENCE AWARD 2005 SEATTLE INT'L FILM FESTIVAL
BEST PICTURE CRYSTAL BEAR AWARD 2005 BERLIN INT'L FILM FESTIVAL
BEST FEATURE FILM AWARD 2005 SAN DIEGO FILM FESTIVAL
BEST ACTOR CARLOS PADILLA 2005 SAN DIEGO FILM FESTIVAL
STANLEY KRAMER AWARD 2005 PRODUCERS GUILD OF AMERICA
OFFICIAL ENTRY (MEXICO) 2005 ACADEMY AWARDS®
OFFICIAL ENTRY 2004 TORONTO INT'L FILM FESTIVAL
JURY AWARDS BEST NARRATIVE FEATURE, BEST FOREIGN FEATURE / BEST SCREENPLAY 2005 RIVERRUN INT'L FILM FESTIVAL
BEST PICTURE JURY AND AUDIENCE AWARD 2005 XICANINDIE FILM FESTIVAL
AUDIENCE AWARD 2005 FILMFEST DC
A Lawrence Bender Production
A Film By Luis Mandoki
INNOCENT VOICES
OCTOBER 14
www.innocentvoicesmovie.com
NEW YORK
LOS ANGELES
BOSTON
DALLAS
HOUSTON
MIAMI
PHILADELPHIA
SAN DIEGO
SAN FRANCISCO
SEATTLE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and a growing sense among the military that the war in Iraq has ground to a stalemate. So long as public attention is focused on the daily setbacks and loss of life in Iraq—and, since late August, on the devastation wrought by Hurricane Katrina—support for the President's military policies will decline. And this, it is feared, could translate into an allergy to costly military operations altogether, akin to the dreaded "Vietnam syndrome" of the 1970s and '80s. It is hardly surprising, then, that senior US officers are talking of plans to reduce US troop strength in Iraq over the coming year even though President Bush has explicitly ruled out such a reduction.

At the same time, China's vast economic expansion has finally begun to translate into improvements in its net military capacity. Although most Chinese weapons are hopelessly obsolete—derived, in many cases, from Soviet models of the 1950s and '60s—Beijing has used some of its newfound wealth to purchase relatively modern arms from Russia, including fighter planes, diesel-electric submarines and destroyers. China has also been expanding its arsenal of short-range ballistic missiles, many capable of striking Taiwan and Japan. None of these systems compare to the most advanced ones in the American arsenal, but their much-publicized acquisition has provided fresh ammunition to those in Washington who advocate stepped-up efforts to neutralize Chinese military capabilities.

The possibility of a revved-up military competition with China looks unusually promising to the US military establishment.

Under these circumstances, the possibility of a revved-up military competition with China looks unusually promising to some in the military establishment. For one thing, no American lives are at risk in such a drive—any bloodletting, should it occur, lies safely in the future. For another, there has been a recent surge in anti-Chinese sentiment in this country, brought about in part by high gasoline prices (blamed, by many, on newly affluent car-crazy Chinese consumers), the steady loss of American jobs to low-wage Chinese industrial zones and the (seemingly) brazen effort by CNOOC to acquire Unocal. This appears, then, to be an opportune moment for renewing the drive to constrain China. But the brouhaha over Unocal also reveals something deeper at work: a growing recognition that the United States and China are now engaged in a high-stakes competition to gain control of the rest of the world's oil supplies.

Just a decade ago, in 1994, China accounted for less than 5 percent of the world's net petroleum consumption and produced virtually all of the oil it burned. At that time China was number four in the roster of the world's top oil consumers, after the United States, Japan and Russia, and its daily usage of 3 million barrels represented less than one-fifth of what the United States consumed on an average day. Since then, however, China has jumped to the number-two position among the leading consumers (supplanting Japan in 2003), and its current consumption of about 6 million barrels per day represents approximately one-third of America's usage. However, domestic oil output in China has remained relatively flat over this period, so it must now import half of its total supply. And with China's economy roaring ahead, its need for imported petroleum is expected to climb much higher in the years to come: According to the Department of Energy (DOE), Chinese oil consumption is projected to reach 12 million barrels per day in 2020, of which 9 million barrels will have to be obtained abroad. With the United States also needing more imports—as much as 16 million barrels per day in 2020—the stage is being set for an intense struggle over access to the world's petroleum supplies.

This would not be such a worrisome prospect if global petroleum output can expand sufficiently between now and 2020 to satisfy increased demand from both China and the United States—and in fact, the DOE predicts that sufficient oil will be available at that time. But many energy experts believe world oil output, now hovering at about 84 million barrels per day, is nearing its maximum or "peak" sustainable level, and will never reach the 111 million barrels projected by the DOE for 2020. If this proves to be the case, or even if output continues to rise but still falls significantly short of the DOE projection, the competition between the United States and China for whatever oil remains in ever diminishing foreign reservoirs will become even more fierce and contentious.

The intensifying US-Chinese struggle for oil is seen, for instance, in China's aggressive pursuit of supplies in such countries as Angola, Canada, Indonesia, Iran, Kazakhstan, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Venezuela. Until recently China derived very little of its petroleum from these countries; now it has struck deals with all of them for new supplies. That China is competing so vigorously with the United States for access to foreign oil is worrisome enough to American business leaders and government officials, given the likelihood that this will result in higher energy costs and a slowing economy; the fact that it is seeking to siphon off oil from places like Canada, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela—which have long sent a large share of their supplies to America—is the source of even greater concern, particularly if it results in a permanent shift in the global flow of oil. From a strategic perspective, moreover, US officials worry that China's efforts to acquire more oil from Iran and Sudan have been accompanied by deliveries of arms and military aid, thus altering the balance of power in areas considered vital to Washington's security interests.

Initially, discussion of China's intensifying quest for foreign oil was largely confined to the business press, but now, for the first time, it is being viewed as a national security matter—that is, as a key factor in shaping US military policy. This outlook was first given official expression in the 2005 edition of the Pentagon's report on Chinese military power. "China became the second largest consumer and third largest importer of oil in 2003," the report notes. "As China's energy and resource needs grow, Beijing has concluded that access to these resources requires special economic or foreign policy relationships in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, bringing China closer to problem countries such as Iran, Sudan, and Venezuela." Again, the implications of this are obvious: China's growing ties to "problem states" constitute a threat to US security and so must be met with countermoves of one sort or another.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two trends have thus joined to propel this new swing of the pendulum: a drive to refocus attention on the long-term challenge posed by China and fresh concern over China's pursuit of oil supplies in strategic areas of the globe. So long as these two conditions prevail—and there is no repeat of 9/11—the calls for increased US military preparation for an eventual war with China will grow stronger. The fact that Bush has seen his job-approval rating plummet in the wake of Hurricane Katrina might also tempt the Administration to play up the China threat. While none of this is likely to produce a true rupture in US-Chinese relations—the forces favoring economic cooperation are too strong to allow that—we can expect vigorous calls for an ambitious US campaign to neutralize China's recent military initiatives.

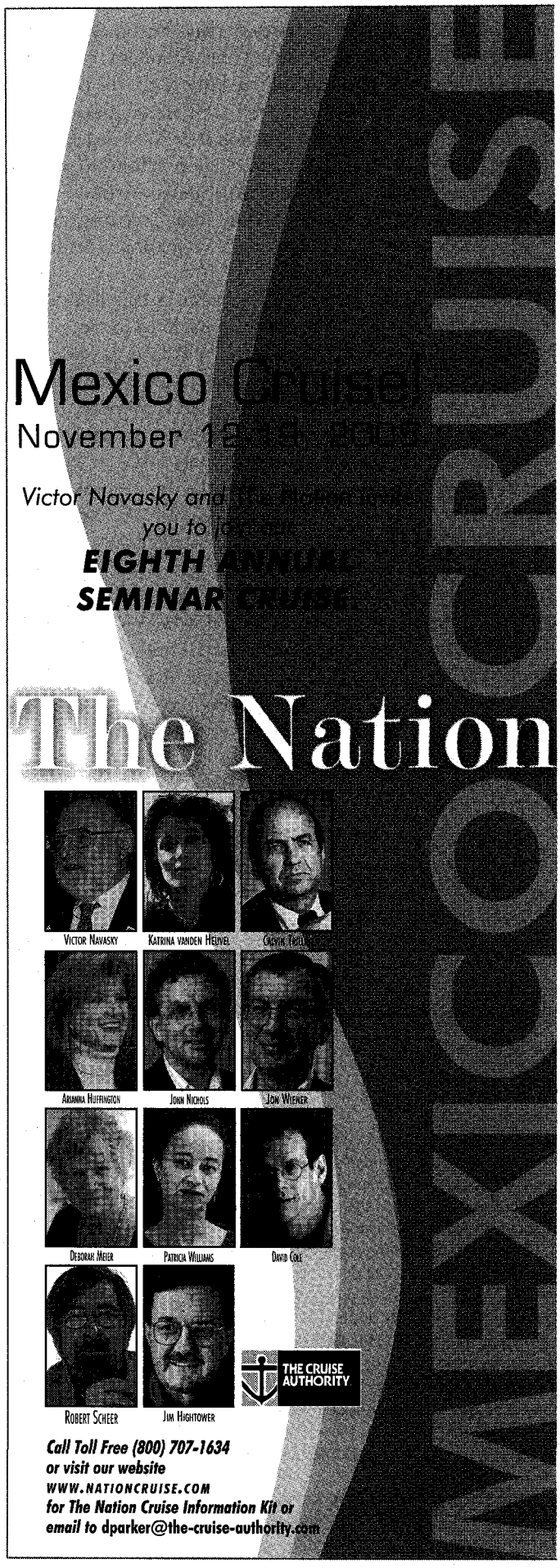
This campaign will take two forms: first, a drive to offset any future gains in Chinese military strength through permanent US military-technological superiority; and second, what can only be described as the encirclement of China through the further acquisition of military bases and the establishment of American-led, anti-Chinese alliances. None of these efforts are being described as part of an explicit, coherent strategy of containment, but there is no doubt from the testimony of US officials that such a strategy is being implemented.

Elements of this strategy can be detected, for example, in the March 8 testimony of Adm. William Fallon, Commander of the US Pacific Command (PACOM), before the Senate Armed Services Committee. "It's certainly cause for concern to see this continuing buildup [by China]," he noted. "It seems to be more than might be required for their defense. We're certainly watching it very closely, [and] we're looking at how we match up against these capabilities."

To counter China's latest initiatives, Fallon called for improvements in US antimissile and antisubmarine warfare (ASW) capabilities, along with a deepening of military ties with America's old and new allies in the region. With respect to missile defense, for example, he stated that "an effective, integrated and tiered system against ballistic missiles" should be "a top priority for development." Such a system, in all likelihood, would be aimed at China's short-range missiles. He also called for establishment of a "robust and integrated ASW architecture" to "counter the proliferation of submarines in the Pacific."

Note that Fallon is not talking about a conflict that might occur in the central or eastern Pacific, within reach of America's shores; rather, he is talking about defeating Chinese forces in their home waters, on the western rim of the Pacific. That US strategy is aimed at containing China to its home territory is further evident from the plans he described for enhanced military cooperation with US allies in the region. These plans, encapsulated in the Theater Security Cooperation Plan (TSCP), were described by Fallon as "one of the primary means through which we extend US influence, develop access and promote competence among potential coalition partners."

Typically, the cooperation will include the delivery of arms and military assistance, joint military maneuvers, regular consultation among senior military officials and, in some cases, expansion (or establishment) of US military bases. In Japan, for example, PACOM is cooperating in the joint development of a regional ballistic missile defense system; in the Philippines it is assisting in the reorganization and modernization of national



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forces; in Singapore—which already plays host to visiting US aircraft carriers—"we are exploring opportunities for expanded access to Singaporean facilities." And this is not the full extent of US efforts to establish an anti-Chinese coalition in the region. In his March testimony Fallon also described efforts to woo India into the American orbit. "Our relationship with the Indian Integrated Defense Staff and the Indian Armed Services continues to grow," he noted. "US and Indian security interests continue to converge as our military cooperation leads to a stronger strategic partnership."

All this and much more is described as an essentially defensive reaction to China's pursuit of forces considered in excess of its legitimate self-defense requirements—"outsized," as Secretary Rice described the Chinese military in a recent interview. One can argue, of course, about what constitutes an appropriate defense capacity for the world's most populous nation, but that's not the point—what matters is that any rational observer in Beijing can interpret Fallon's testimony (and the other developments described above) only as part of a concerted US campaign to contain China and neutralize its military capabilities.

Chinese leaders are no doubt fully aware of their glaring military inferiority vis-à-vis the United States, and so can be expected to avoid a risky confrontation with Washington. But any nation, when confronted with a major military buildup by a potential adversary off its shores, is bound to feel threatened and will respond accordingly. For a proud country like China, which has been repeatedly invaded and occupied by foreign powers over the past few centuries, the US buildup on its doorstep must appear especially threatening. It is hardly surprising, then, that Beijing has sought modern weapons and capabilities to offset America's growing advantage. Nor is it surprising that China has sought to buttress its military ties with Russia—the two countries held joint military exercises in August, the first significant demonstration of military cooperation since the Korean War—and to discourage neighboring countries from harboring American bases. (Uzbekistan asked the United States to shut down its base at Karshi-Khanabad after a meeting of the Chinese-led Shanghai Cooperation Organization in July.) But even if defensive in nature, these moves will provide additional ammunition for those in Washington who see a Chinese drive for regional hegemony and so seek an even greater US capacity to overpower Chinese forces.

This is all bound to add momentum to the pendulum's swing toward a more hostile US stance on China. But that outcome is not foreordained: Future economic conditions—a sharp rise in US interest rates, for example—could strengthen the hand of those in Washington who seek to prevent a breach in US-Chinese relations. These figures argue, for example, that Beijing helps keep US interest rates low by buying US Treasury bonds and that China represents an expanding market for US cars, aircraft and other manufactured goods. But the pursuit of ever more potent weapons on each side could prove to be a self-sustaining phenomenon, undermining efforts to improve relations.

The debate over China's military power and the purported need for a major US buildup to counter China's recent arms acquisitions will become increasingly heated in the months and years to come. As always, it will be fueled by claims of this or that Chinese military advance, often employing pseudo-technical language intended to exaggerate Chinese capabilities and discourage close scrutiny by ordinary citizens. If this trend persists, we will become locked into an ever expanding arms race that can only have harmful consequences for both countries—even if it doesn't lead to war. Questioning inflated Pentagon claims of Chinese strength and resisting the trend toward a harsher anti-Chinese military stance are essential, therefore, if we want to avert a costly and dangerous cold war in Asia. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

GAZA DISENGAGEMENT

Berkeley, Calif.

■ Richard Falk is quick to conclude from his post-disengagement analysis ["Gaza Illusions," Sept. 12] that "this disengagement represents a dangerous step backward in the struggle to find a just peace for these two peoples."

What Falk discounts is the power of international pressure on the decision to disengage from Gaza in the first place. International pressure also brought about Israel's grudging coordination of the immediate aspects of the disengagement with the Palestinians. And it has secured an Israeli commitment to coordinate the larger issues (border control, customs and taxes, sea and airports, safe passage between Gaza and the West Bank) in the immediate future.

It can be expected that in the final months of 2005, with Palestinian elections certain and Israeli elections probable in January and February, there will be very little in the way of further developments, other than the conclusion of the negotiated "coordination" of issues related to Gaza. Israel can be expected to continue its attempt at settlement expansion during the diplomatic lull, but thus far repeated attempts to complete the "Jerusalem envelope" and the expansion of Ariel have been turned back by international pressure.

To those who deny even the possibility of an alternative post-disengagement future than their dire predictions of the mass imprisonment of the Gazans, I can only remind them of the words of respected *Ha'aretz* journalist Gideon Levy, who, following Sharon's unveiling of his disengagement initiative, wrote (and I think I am quoting him exactly enough, although from memory), "If Ariel Sharon removes even a single settlement from the Gaza Strip, I am a house plant." He was extensively quoted on the left. Oops. MARCIA FREEDMAN

President, Brit Tzedek v'Shalom, the Jewish Alliance for Justice and Peace; Former Member of the Israeli Knesset

FALK REPLIES

Santa Barbara, Calif.

■ Of course, let's hope that Marcia Freedman is right to think that "international pressure" can push the peace process beyond the Gaza disengagement, but I remain doubtful. No matter the minority opposition to Sharon's policy in Gaza, unilateral disengagement was fully consistent with Sharon's view of an imposed rather than a negotiated peace. When Gaza lost its "value" as an Israeli bargaining chip, disengagement was strongly supported by the pragmatics of Israel's vision of security, territorial expansion and "peace." The flip side of disengagement is the settlement-enclosing Israeli security wall.

RICHARD FALK

CORRECTION

■ In Roberto Lovato's "The War for Latinos" [Oct. 3], Jorge Mariscal should have been identified as a professor at the University of California, San Diego, not the University of San Diego.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Why Is Africa Still Poor?

ANDREW RICE

THE FATE OF AFRICA: From the Hopes of Freedom to the Heart of Despair—A History of Fifty Years of Independence.
By Martin Meredith.
PublicAffairs. 752 pp. $35.

THE END OF POVERTY: Economic Possibilities for Our Time.
By Jeffrey D. Sachs.
Penguin Press. 396 pp. $27.95.

THE SHACKLED CONTINENT: Power, Corruption and African Lives.
By Robert Guest.
Smithsonian. 280 pp. $27.50.

A slogan painted on trucks and taxicabs all over Africa, much beloved by metaphor-hunting authors, reads: NO CONDITION IS PERMANENT. This is true, but some are recurring. Tyranny in Zimbabwe, famine in Niger, a constitutional coup in Togo, rampant corruption in Kenya, protesters shot in Ethiopia, an epidemic in Angola, civil war in Sudan—those are this year's headlines, but if you think you've heard it all before, you have. Martin Meredith, in his new book *The Fate of Africa*, writes that "what is so striking about the fifty-year period since independence is the extent to which African states have suffered so many of the same misfortunes." Some countries, like Nigeria and Zambia, have gone through cycles of reform and decay. But Meredith's subtitle—*From the Hopes of Freedom to the Heart of Despair*—sums up the overall trend. It's hard to imagine now, but in the heady days of the 1960s, much of the continent was no less prosperous than South Korea or Malaysia. While those Asian nations have transformed themselves into economic "tigers," however, gross domestic products across Africa shrank during the last two decades of the twentieth century. Africans are getting poorer, not richer. They are living shorter, hungrier lives.

The decline of an entire continent confounds our preconceptions about human advancement. The economist Jeffrey Sachs points out in his recent book *The End of Poverty* that our Hegelian notion of linear progress is relatively new. For most of history, humans lived miserable existences and couldn't expect better before the afterlife. But since the Industrial Revolution the situation has improved, and not only in the rich countries of Europe and North America. Between 1981 and 2001, Sachs says, hundreds of millions of people, many of them in Asian nations like China and India, emerged from extreme poverty. But a billion have been left behind, most of them in Africa. "The greatest tragedy of our time," Sachs writes, is that one-sixth of all humans still live a dollar-a-day existence, scraping by on the margins of starvation.

Everyone agrees that Africans are desperately poor and typically suffer from corrupt, capricious governance. The question is why.

How can one continent be so out of step with humankind's march of progress? Everyone agrees that Africans are desperately poor and typically endure governments that are, to varying degrees, corrupt and capricious. The dispute is about causes and consequences. One group—call it the poverty-first camp—believes African governments are so lousy precisely because their countries are so poor. The other group—the governance-first camp—holds that Africans are impoverished because their rulers keep them that way. The argument may seem pedantic, but there are billions of dollars at stake, and millions of lives. The fundamental question is whether those who are well-off can salve a continent's suffering, or if, for all our good intentions, Africans are really on their own.

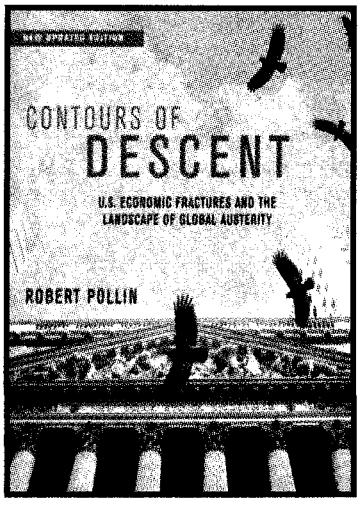
Recently, the poverty-first crowd has been making a lot of noise. The weekend

Andrew Rice has reported from Africa for The Nation, The New York Times Magazine, The New Republic *and other magazines. He is currently at work on a book about Uganda for Metropolitan.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I strongly urge you to read Robert Pollin's *Contours of Descent*...an unsparing scrutiny of Clintonomics."
–Alexander Cockburn, *The Nation*

NEWLY UPDATED IN PAPERBACK



CONTOURS OF DESCENT
U.S. Economic Fractures and the Landscape of Global Austerity
ROBERT POLLIN

Contours of Descent shows how the policies, first of Clinton, and even more sharply with Bush, lavish favors on big business and the wealthy, while allowing living standards for ordinary people to fall–both in the U.S. and the developing world.

"Pollin has succeeded admirably in debunking the celebratory tone that seemed to have infected most journalists and too many economists during the late 1990s. And he has done it with good solid economic reasoning and research."
–Michael Meeropol, *Challenge*

"This is a book sophisticated enough to be of interest to those with economics training, but written in a comprehensible and popular style."
–Ed Herman, *Monthly Review*

Paperback 1 84467 534 3 $18

VERSO

Available at all good bookstores and through W.W. Norton
800 233 4830
www.versobooks.com

before the July G-8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland, millions of people watched as pop stars in cities around the world played concerts organized by Africa crusader Bob Geldof. The event's platform—forgive Africa's debts, increase its development aid, end trade policies that undermine its exports—echoed the recommendations of Sachs, the antipoverty movement's house economist. A Columbia University professor and an adviser to Kofi Annan, Sachs has lately become a favorite brain of the *US Weekly* set: Bono wrote his book's introduction, and he recently starred alongside Angelina Jolie in an MTV special about their travels in Kenya. The celebrity endorsements amplify Sachs's serious argument that for too long, rich countries have done too little to help the poor. At the end of the Gleneagles summit, world leaders announced that they would increase global aid by about $50 billion by 2010. Sachs says the poor need much more, right away: about $75 billion a year, half of it for Africa. "I reject the plaintive cries of the doomsayers who say that ending poverty is impossible," he writes.

The doomsayers, sadly, include many of those who know the continent best. Two other recent books—Meredith's sweeping history of the post-independence era, and Robert Guest's more tightly focused *The Shackled Continent*—have joined the immense corpus of literature arguing that, for all the continent's geographical and historical handicaps, Africa's main problems are political. Guest, an optimist, believes that with better leadership African countries could catch up. But Meredith reaches a dismal conclusion. Even "given greater Western efforts," he writes, "the sum of Africa's misfortunes—its wars, its despotisms, its corruption, its droughts, its everyday violence—presents a crisis of such magnitude that it goes beyond the reach of foreseeable solutions. At the core of the crisis is the failure of African leaders to provide effective government."

Meredith, a British journalist and historian, is the author of biographies of Nelson Mandela and Robert Mugabe. Here, he offers an ambitious survey of fifty years, fifty-three countries and countless wars and coups. The story begins in the early 1950s, with the first stirrings of nationalism among the colonized peoples of Africa. Seventy years of rule from afar had left the continent spectacularly ill-equipped for self-rule—a collection of states that were nations in name only, drawn up according to the realpolitical whims of the likes of Gladstone, Bismarck and Bel-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gium's King Leopold, who presided over the deaths of millions of Congolese. Some European powers were spiteful about leaving: French President Charles de Gaulle, piqued by the lack of deference shown him by Guinea's Ahmed Sékou Touré, had colonial officials cart away their office furniture, while the Portuguese fought a series of bloody wars to hold on to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Other colonial powers were more benevolent. Britain, for instance, built some good schools and decent roads in East Africa. What none of the Europeans left behind, however, were societies equipped to approach the immense challenge of mending the tribal, regional and religious rifts created and exacerbated—often deliberately—in the interest of dividing and ruling.

Yet in those early years, all these challenges seemed manageable. "Expectations were high," Meredith writes, with charismatic leaders like Léopold Senghor, Senegal's philosopher-president, and the regal Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, seemingly poised to lead the continent to democracy and self-sufficiency. The rains were good, the harvests bountiful and the infrastructure, left behind by the Europeans, adequate. The "sense of euphoria," Meredith writes, "had been raised to ever greater heights by the lavish promises of nationalist politicians campaigning for power, pledging to provide education, medical care, employment and land for all. 'Seek ye first the political kingdom,' Nkrumah had told his followers, 'and all else shall be added unto you.'"

Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president and the first man to lead an African colony to independence, is of especial interest to Meredith, perhaps because his career established the pattern of disappointment. A former political prisoner of deep nationalist conviction, he took over when the British exited Ghana in 1957. Nkrumah was hailed worldwide as a prophet of liberation, and he acted the part, wrapping himself in kente cloth and talking of a United States of Africa. He spent hundreds of millions of dollars in a five-year spree, constructing lavish public buildings, creating nationalized industries from scratch and establishing a Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute to codify his thinking. He encouraged a personality cult and took grandiose titles, such as Osagyefo, which means "redeemer."

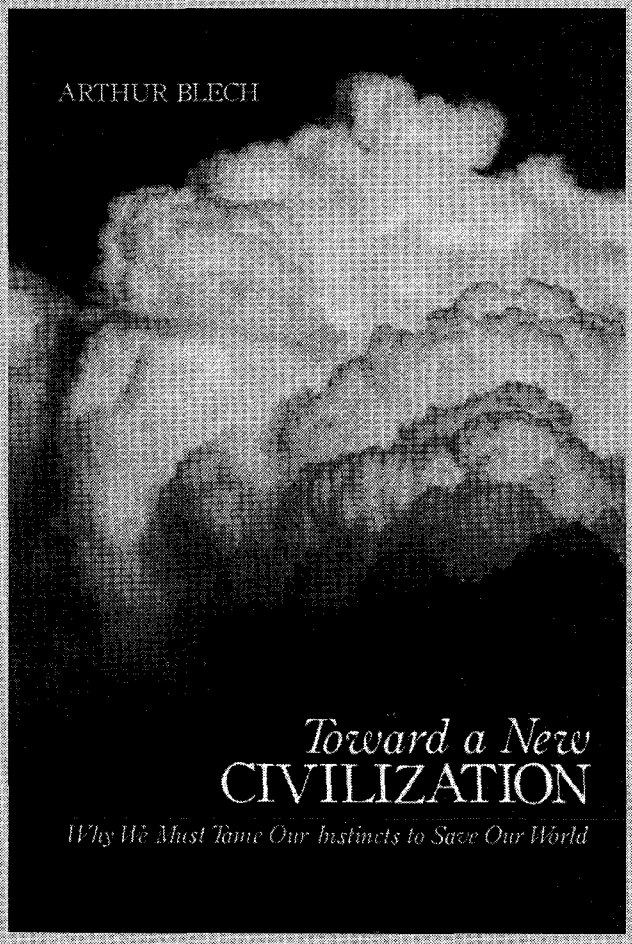
When his popularity waned, Nkrumah turned to other methods of rule. He doled out patronage, as his cabinet ministers demanded 10 percent cuts of every public contract. (When one Nkrumah crony was questioned about his exorbitant lifestyle,

TOWARD A NEW CIVILIZATION

Why We Must Tame Our Instincts to Save Our World

Arthur Blech

452 pp • ISBN 1-59102-350-5 • HC • $26



"To sum it up in one sentence, the final conclusion of the author is: The path that was begun in Jewish, Greek, and Roman antiquity can no longer be continued. Only a profoundly new understanding of civilization can lead to a new, hopeful phase of human history; only in this way would the chance of survival be assured, along with a free and decent form of coexistence for all people.

"The book is appearing simultaneously in Germany under the title Für eine neue Zivilisation. *It will lead to animated discussions there as well as here. Before making judgments based on a 'purely academic standpoint,' I would recommend looking closely at the following: the condition of our civilization and culture, the condition of the earth and its future, and above all, the contents of the unorthodox, yet exceptionally serious and careful argumentation of author Arthur Blech."*

—Dr. Bernhard Schäfers
Dean of the Department of Sociology and Cultural Studies,
Technical University of Karlsruhe, Germany

Prometheus Books
59 John Glenn Drive • Amherst, NY 14228
Toll Free: 800-421-0351 • Fax: 716-691-0137
www.prometheusbooks.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he replied, "Socialism doesn't mean that if you've made a lot of money, you can't keep it.") As Ghana went bankrupt, Nkrumah became increasingly remote, surrounded by sycophants inside Christianborg Castle, a former slaving fort. He crushed labor unions and imprisoned political opponents. After more than one attempt on his life, he created a praetorian guard within the army, made up mostly of his own tribesmen. In February 1966, while Nkrumah was on a state visit to China, the military overthrew him. Ghanaians celebrated in the streets.

With eerie uniformity, this same drama played out in country after country, as colonial exploitation gave way to the rule of homegrown tyrants. In Meredith's account, these so-called Big Men begin to blur together. Even their flourishes seem interchangeable. Meredith, who has a gift for the mordant aside, tells us that Nkrumah built himself a large zoo that featured a boa constrictor sent by Fidel Castro. The Ivory Coast's Félix Houphouët-Boigny allowed a sacred elephant to roam the grounds of his palace. Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie kept caged lions and leopards. Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, another cat person, used to feed his lions dissidents.

Ghana was lucky by comparison. Its dictators were gentler than the likes of Bokassa, a reputed cannibal, or Idi Amin, who had one of his wives killed, dismembered and dumped in a car trunk. Coup leader Jerry Rawlings, an Air Force lieutenant, led Ghana well enough to be hailed in the 1990s as one of a "new breed" of enlightened autocrats. Rawlings presided over World Bank–mandated economic reforms. Pleased donors flooded the country with billions in foreign aid. Rawlings eventually handed over power to an elected civilian. Nonetheless, Meredith writes that in 1998 "Ghana's gross national product was still 16 percent lower than in 1970." This, mind you, is one of the continent's success stories.

Meredith's book is full of tales like this, and worse. The author seems to be emulating Thomas Pakenham's *The Scramble for Africa*, an epic history of the early colonial period. But Meredith is a victim of his own scope; when he leaves southern Africa, his area of expertise, he leans heavily on earlier writers. As his narrative flits from crisis to crisis, his attempts at a wider analysis disappear into the repetitive gloom. What's missing is a unifying idea, an explanation. For that, one must turn to Robert Guest and Jeffrey Sachs.

Guest spent years traveling the continent as an editor and writer for *The Economist*, and his fine book is filled with the kind of vivid details that come from spending too many nights in dingy, sweltering hotel rooms. (I should mention that he is a professional acquaintance; he edited several stories I wrote for his publication between 2002 and 2004.) Before being assigned to Africa he was stationed in booming East Asia, an experience that shapes his view of the continent's predicament. "Any country inhabited by human beings has the potential to grow rich. We know this because many countries have already done so," he writes. "If Africa is to succeed too, it is crucial to understand what has gone wrong in the past. Just why is Africa so poor?"

Jeffrey Sachs thinks Africa's problem is not politics but misfortune. 'Africa's governance is poor,' he writes, 'because Africa is poor.'

The answer, Guest believes, is misrule. In his view, corruption isn't just a symptom of Africa's deeper problems. It *is* the deeper problem. When government ministers loot social programs, it exacerbates poverty, disease and illiteracy. When customs agents demand bribes for allowing trucks to cross borders, it increases shipping costs, and hence the prices poor consumers pay. When rulers distribute jobs and contracts to their own tribal kin, it deepens ethnic divisions.

It's no accident, Guest writes, that "the poorest one sixth of humanity endures four fifths of the world's civil wars." In Africa, where so many have so little, it's easy to foment rebellion against Mercedes-driving kleptocrats. Because those who lose power are usually stripped of their ill-gotten wealth, rulers have an incentive to be paranoid and cruel. Perversely, Guest notes, countries that are blessed by nature tend to suffer the most. Nigeria has pumped $280 billion worth of oil since the 1970s, and has seen much of it siphoned off by a series of dictators. Angola endured a long, bloody conflict over its oil and diamonds. Congo is endowed with vast quantities of almost every precious mineral, and today it lies devastated by an interminable war of plunder.

Guest's book is at its best, however, when it abandons these big stories and focuses on the everyday, showing how corrupt governments plague the lives of normal Africans. In one chapter, he recounts his experiences riding along with a truck driver and his cargo of Guinness Stout on a ridiculously arduous four-day journey across Cameroon. The route is in terrible shape; Guest notes that since 1980 the government has allowed about two-thirds of Cameroon's roads to be reclaimed by the rainforest. But the worst holdups come at countless police roadblocks, where officers fabricate phantom offenses to generate bribes. "Do you have a gun?" a police officer asks when someone raises an objection. "No. I have a gun, so I know the rules."

Too often in Africa, Guest says, men with guns twist the rules to enrich themselves, further impoverishing their countrymen in the process. Still, he thinks countries can work their way out of the mess, particularly if they adopt the sort of free-market policies *The Economist* champions. Some of Guest's ideas are compelling, such as when he cites the work of Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto to suggest that African governments could unlock nearly $1 trillion in capital by recognizing the land rights of squatters, who might then be able to borrow money against the value of their property. Elsewhere, he is less convincing. Guest believes that a simple fear of bad publicity will prevent multinational corporations from mistreating African workers, a contention that is quite at odds with historical precedent.

When it comes to development aid, Guest believes that donor nations "should be both more generous and more selective," rewarding countries that are "trying to implement sensible policies" and cutting off those that aren't. Aid isn't the answer, he says. Rather, only Africans can save Africa, by building competitive economies. Right now, he writes, Africa possesses 10 percent of the world's population and accounts for only 2 percent of global trade; it "hardly produces anything that the rest of the world wants to buy." Until it does, Guest believes, the continent's shackles will stay locked.

By this point, you may think you know why Africa languishes. But you're wrong, says Jeffrey Sachs. In making his passionate call for more foreign aid, he challenges the conventional wisdom that Africa isn't ready for help. African governments are dictatorial? Sachs says that the thieving-tyrants-with-fly-swatters stereotype of African leaders is "passé," and that "by the early 1990s...a little-heralded democratic revolution was sweeping the continent." Corruption is the source of all misery? That contention, he writes, "does not withstand practical experience or serious scrutiny." Sachs believes Africa's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

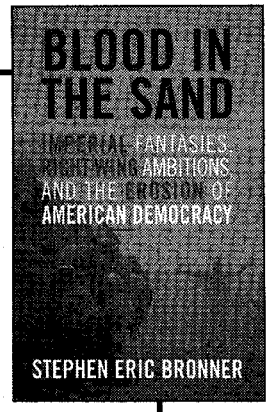
problem is not politics but simple misfortune. Its soil produces less food than, for instance, East Asia's. The continent suffers disproportionately from debilitating diseases like AIDS and malaria. Much of its population is concentrated away from its coastline, and this, combined with its lack of good roads and navigable rivers, hampers trade and economic growth. "Africa's governance is poor," Sachs writes, "because Africa is poor."

The idea that Africa is a victim of geography is not new, but Sachs's book dares to offer a big, bold solution. And an author of Sachs's pedigree can't be taken lightly. The globe-trotting Columbia professor is a kind of macroeconomic Winston Wolf. Like Harvey Keitel's character in *Pulp Fiction*, he shows up at scenes of carnage with a snappy plan to clean things up. Sometimes he succeeds, as in Bolivia in the hyperinflationary 1980s. Sometimes he fails, as in post-Communist Russia—but never for lack of self-assurance. He says economists should think like scientists when diagnosing Africa's ills. "In some ways," he writes, "today's development economics is like eighteenth-century medicine, when doctors used leeches to draw blood from their patients, often killing them in the process."

Sachs first approached Africa in the late 1990s, at a time when foreign aid was plummeting from cold war highs. He concluded that many Africans are stuck in a "poverty trap." They don't make enough to save, so they can't amass the capital necessary to build a future. (For an illustration, read Robert Guest's account of a Malawian farmer who dreams of becoming a merchant but can't because he finds a bicycle hopelessly expensive.) *The End of Poverty* contains many common-sensical ideas: Use irrigation and fertilizers to increase crop yields; distribute mosquito nets to combat malaria and pharmaceuticals to lessen the symptoms of AIDS; give rural villages cell phones to ease communication and trade. What's grabbed the world's attention, though, is not such incremental prescriptions but Sachs's claim of a cure.

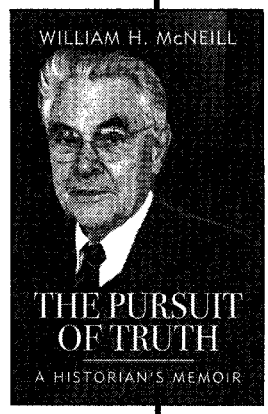
"The end of extreme poverty is at hand—within our generation," he declares, if only rich nations, especially the United States, open their coffers. This, Sachs writes, "is the great opportunity of our time, a commitment that would not only relieve massive suffering and spread economic well-being, but would also promote other Enlightenment objectives of democracy, global security, and the advancement of science." Sachs attacks those who don't share his utopian vision, lamenting the "anti-African and antipoor attitudes" of skeptics. "Africa gets a bad rap as the 'corrupt continent,'"

The University Press of KENTUCKY



BLOOD IN THE SAND
Imperial Fantasies, Right-Wing Ambitions, and the Erosion of American Democracy
Stephen Eric Bronner
"This hard-hitting and intelligent book is a remarkable reflection on the paradoxical moment in which Americans find themselves: citizens of the greatest power in world history, and yet with an acute sense of vulnerability, dominating completely far-away countries like Iraq, and yet barely in control there."—Rashid Khalidi
$22.00 cloth

THE *LOGOS* READER
Rational Radicalism and the Future of Politics
Edited by Stephen Eric Bronner and Michael J. Thompson
"A lively and important contribution to a number of debates in the realm of politics and society, with particular strengths in political theory and Middle East politics."—Kevin B. Anderson
$27.00 paper, $60.00 cloth

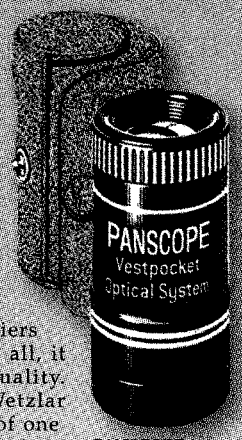


THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH
A Historian's Memoir
William H. McNeill
"A dazzling account of the evolution of modern world history by one of the great historians of modern times. McNeill writes with verve, elegance, and a combative wit."—David Christian
$27.50 cloth

At bookstores • 800/839-6855 • www.kentuckypress.com

The only universal optical instrument...

PANSCOPE
(the complete optical system)
from us only $54.95 (Why pay more?)*
**But read this ad for an even better deal!*



This is a little optical marvel. PANSCOPE (only 2" long) contains a complete optical system in its tiny body. You may use it as a 3x telescope or as a unique 3x telescope-loupe. In its magnifying mode, it delivers magnifiers and loupes at 5x, 10x, and 15x enlargement. And to top it all, it also functions as a 30x microscope of laboratory quality.
This marvelous little instrument, developed in Wetzlar (Germany), home of famous Leica cameras, is the product of one of Asia's finest makers. Its coated optics are of superb quality, delivering the image with brilliant luminosity, in needle-sharp focus, with absolute clarity and with full chromatic correction.
PANSCOPE is the indispensable first choice of scientists and professionals and of just about everybody who wants and needs to see the infinite detail in life that is not readily available to the unaided eye.

• PANSCOPE *is beautifully gift-boxed, comes with its neatly fitted leather case and with a plastic "tripod" for extended observations at 15x and 30x.*

***And here is the even better deal: Buy two PANSCOPES for $109.90 and we'll send you a third one with our compliments – absolutely FREE!** You will be amazed and delighted with this wonderful optical instrument. Do yourself a favor. Order your **Panscope(s)** today!

You may order by toll-free phone, by mail, or by fax and pay by check or AMEX/Visa/MasterCard. Please give order code shown. Add $6.95 S/H for one, $9.90 for three and sales tax for CA delivery. You have 30-day refund and one-year warranty. We do not refund postage. For customer service or wholesale information, please call (415) 356-7801.

Please give order code Y695

jomira
division of jomira/advance
470 Third Street, #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

© Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804 ©
Visit our website at www.jomira.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he writes. "Even when such sentiments are not racist in intent, they survive in our societies as conventional wisdom because of existing widespread racism."

Invoking the R-word in this context seems overheated, especially since those who complain loudest about corruption in Africa tend to be Africans themselves. (Bob Geldof, to his credit, recognizes this.) One might forgive Sachs's rhetorical overkill if it weren't emblematic of his book's deeper failure to engage with the most serious argument against him: history. Ending African poverty is a worthy aspiration. It is also an old ideal, a shoal on which many buoyant ideologies—liberalism, communism, pan-Africanism—have run aground. Sachs talks of the need for an effort akin to the Marshall Plan for postwar Europe. Guest points out that since independence Africa has "received aid equivalent to six Marshall Plans"—with little to show for it.

Much of this assistance has been consumed by graft. Corrupt leaders have proved to be highly adaptable to changing times. When statism was in vogue, they nationalized industries, which they proceeded to operate as patronage mills. When the World Bank demanded privatization, they sold off the state companies to their cousins and cronies. Nowadays, the watchword is "transparency," but the situation remains much the same. According to a 2002 study conducted by the African Union, corruption consumes more than a quarter of the continent's gross domestic product every year, about $148 billion.

Faced with such facts, Sachs tries to recalculate reality. He publishes a chart of corruption figures that have been "controlled statistically for income levels" and concludes that Africa is not "distinctly poorly governed *by the standards of very poor countries.*" This is a little like saying if you control for height, the Ivy League is the best conference in college basketball. The generals who looted Nigeria—a government of "average" honesty by Sachs's measure—were not stealing relative dollars: Check their Swiss bank statements. Some, like Guest, contend that in Africa corruption matters more than anywhere else, because the margin of survival is so thin. Rapacious rulers are literally stealing bread from the mouths of those they serve.

Sachs's solution sounds simple enough: Lavish billions on good countries like Ghana and punish bad ones like Zimbabwe by stopping the checks. The hitch is that the list of countries considered "good" and "bad" keeps changing. Sachs's favorites include Ethiopia, Uganda and Mozambique. But fifteen years ago these countries were basket cases; Zimbabwe was the success story, under the wise rule of its benevolent autocrat Robert Mugabe. Fifteen years before that, the paragons were Nigeria and Ivory Coast. Whenever a darling disintegrates, much of what development aid finances—paved roads, schools, hospitals, advanced farms—is destroyed, and the process must begin anew.

The closer you look at some of Sachs's chosen countries, the more you wonder about his judgment. Take Kenya, for instance. Sachs minimizes the problem of corruption there, attacking leery donors for their "useless and false moralizing," but no Kenyan I've ever met would share his lack of concern. (Nor, it's likely, would the country's former anticorruption czar, who resigned earlier this year in frustration.) One leader Sachs frequently consults, Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, has lately been acting like an old-school dictator, imprisoning political opponents after an allegedly fraudulent election. In Uganda, where more than half the country's budget comes from foreign aid, a recent confidential report written for the World Bank concludes that donor aid is becoming a "mechanism for regime maintenance," allowing the ruling party to set up "slush funds" to pay for patronage and a military buildup. Meanwhile, the percentage of Ugandans living in poverty has risen. Sachs says this is nothing an extra $1.8 billion a year won't fix.

The point is that playing favorites requires vigilance and a willingness to recognize when success is turning sour. Africa is not the unremitting disaster Martin Meredith portrays. Countries like Botswana and Senegal stand out as models of stability, and Sachs is right to say that more Africans enjoy more democracy today than ever before. Everyone who knows the continent well believes it could benefit from a boost in generosity and—especially—closer attention from the American government. But an endeavor as ambitious as ending African poverty demands a little humility in the face of the task. We must recognize history, and understand the continent as it is, not as we wish it to be. To worry about corruption and misrule is to amplify the concerns of Africans I've met all over the continent, whose greatest anger is inevitably reserved for those leaders who have misspent so much in their names. Their voices should be heard, too, over the din of the rock concerts. ■

A Hero for Our Time

MARK LOTTO

INDECISION. By Benjamin Kunkel. Random House. 240 pp. $21.95.

Benjamin Kunkel's debut novel, *Indecision*, is the comedy of a boy who couldn't make up his mind. Of course, Dwight B. Wilmerding isn't the first 28-year-old to lie awake all night wondering if he should quit his job, dump his girlfriend and move to Vermont to live amid the dumb comfort of dogs and the wisdom of books. But Dwight can't decide anything—not even the smallest thing. In order to choose between two basically identical oxford shirts, he has to close his eyes and point; a coin flip is required whenever he makes or breaks plans; the lucky numbers in his horoscope help him navigate menus. But forget Thanksgiving. The embarrassment of food options usually renders him catatonic. A clean fork wobbles in his hand like the needle of a broken compass. Dwight just sits there and drools.

Book reviewers, on the other hand, have had no trouble making up their minds about *Indecision*. The Gray Lady fawned over Kunkel, 32, like a loving grandmother. In the daily *New York Times*, Michiko Kakutani actually reviewed *Indecision* from the point of view of Holden Caulfield ("Old Dwight's book really knocked me out"). That weekend, the *Times Book Review* published a front-page rave by 1980s wunderkind Jay McInerney—as if the title of Spokesman for a Generation could be handed down like the Miss America crown. Two weeks later, the *Book Review* published Kunkel's 4,000-word essay about novelists and terrorists on the same Sunday that the *Times Magazine* ran an adoring profile of Kunkel and the other founding editors of the literary magazine *n+1*. Kunkel was identified as "the hot young white male

Mark Lotto, a former Nation *intern, also writes for the* New York Observer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Better Than Viagra®*?

Take this test...

- ☐ Do you worry about keeping an erection during intercourse?
- ☐ Do you have a medical condition such as high blood pressure/cholesterol/hormone disorders/diabetes/depression?
- ☐ Do you want to improve your sexual confidence?
- ☐ Are you concerned your partner is disappointed in your sexual performance?

If you answered "yes" to one or more of the questions above, Androvin™ may significantly improve your sex life—and without a doctor's prescription.

Androvin™ provides a safe, discreet way to firmer, fuller erections, more intense orgasms and more overall energy.

Let's face it, no matter how good we think we are in bed, the reality is most middle aged men and seniors have room for improvement. Just ask their wives. No fault of their own, the fact is that the quality and fullness of erections often decrease as men age. And it's the rare man over 45, who can truthfully admit he can perform like he did when he was 25.

What Happened To Us?

Generally speaking, men experience a decrease in erection quality with age. This is totally normal. Some causes are stress, poor nutrition, smoking, and certain medications. Whatever the reason, the usual result is a decrease in natural blood flow during arousal, leading to difficulty obtaining and maintaining an erection. Some men slowly lose firmness of their erections, while others lose the length of time their erections last. Unfortunately, this often-embarrassing situation can cause decreased self-esteem and result in serious emotional and relationship problems.

Remarkable Daily Supplement That Guarantees To Increase Your Sexual Performance

Despite ridiculous claims to the contrary, there is no known ingestible product to alter the size or shape of your penis. But there is a way you can enjoy sexual health without embarrassing visits to the doctor, expensive prescriptions, painful injections into the penis, or surgical procedures. Androvin™ is a remarkable, once-a-day, non-prescription supplement that is guaranteed to increase your sexual desire and performance. And unlike prescription drugs that must be timed with precision and taken before a sexual encounter, all-natural Androvin—simply taken once daily—is designed to help maintain blood flow for firmer, fuller erections for as long as it's used. You're always ready to go!

Harder, Longer-Lasting Erections

Certain powerful ingredients in Androvin, known as vasodilators, help to relax smooth muscle tissue in the pelvic region. The result? An increased amount of blood flows freely to the penis, to create a fuller, harder, longer-lasting erection.

Now You Can Feel More Relaxed, Eager And Confident!

The key to better sex is also in your mind. Consequently, Androvin also contains ingredients that stimulate the neurotransmitters in the brain's pleasure center to increase sexual capacity. This not only enhances the desire for sexual stimulation and helps improve vitality and energy, it also minimizes performance anxiety before it starts. Those who take Androvin feel more relaxed, more eager, and more confident.

The Androvin™ Difference

- Viagra®*, the most commonly prescribed drug for erectile dysfunction, may cause drug resistance in certain long-term users, cannot be used by people with certain cardiovascular conditions, does not address libido issues, and has shown severe side effects in some patients.
- The majority of over-the-counter sexual dysfunction products have little/no efficacy.
- Androvin's effective formula can allow healthy men, as well as those suffering from impotence, to obtain full erections after one or more dosages, along with increased libido and improved satisfaction.
- Androvin is produced under FDA approved conditions, using only the highest quality pharmaceutical-grade ingredients.

Risk Free Trial Offer & Free Bottle Available For Limited Time

For a limited time, Androvin is being offered through an exclusive manufacturer's direct risk-free trial. Your order will be shipped immediately in discrete packaging so no one has to know your secret. Try it for 30 days, and if you don't think that Androvin has significantly improved your sexual performance and stamina, return the unused portion for a full refund (less s&h). You risk absolutely nothing! To learn how to get a FREE bottle of Androvin and free shipping just call. This offer is for a limited time, only as supplies last.

To order call toll-free 24 hours a day!

1-800-859-1152

To order by mail, please call for details.

Your privacy is our priority. Your order will be billed and shipped by "Premium Nutrition, Inc." We will never share your information with an outside company. It is for internal use only.

HERE'S WHAT SOME OF THE SATISFIED ANDROVIN™ USERS ARE SAYING:

"What a sense of confidence! Androvin really helps to elevate my mood and create a better sense of well being; and, my performance is the best it has been in years." **Mitch—Oviedo, FL**

"I call it, the Viagra®* replacement of the 21st century. I have used prescription drugs in the past to treat my erectile dysfunction; but now, I rely on Androvin. It's so much more convenient to get, less money and works just as well." **Brian—Naples, FL**

*Viagra is a registered trademark of Pfizer, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

writer of the moment." By favorably comparing Dwight and Holden, *n+1* and the *Partisan Review*, Kunkel and Goethe, Kunkel and Joyce, these *Times* pieces worked hard to establish the new author's pedigree, his literary bona fides, like a royal genealogist rubber-stamping the pure bloodlines of a new prince. Each article was accompanied by a photo of Kunkel smiling shyly, or brooding prettily.

"Writers rightly prefer intelligent hostility to stupid praise," daydreams critic James Wood in the current issue of *n+1*. We are already familiar with the victims of stupid praise. Especially talented, especially lucky or especially well-publicized writers like Jonathan Safran Foer, Dave Eggers and Zadie Smith were cooed over, profiled, proclaimed originals, made stars. Surely, these young authors—all of them, like Kunkel, with talents worth developing—would have benefited more from intelligent and productive hostility than from the advertising campaigns they were given by critics. Predictably, their follow-ups were greeted with idiotic hostility. This cycle of hype and backlash unquestionably fails writers. Faulkner wrote three not-great books before he wrote *The Sound and the Fury*; these days he'd only have gotten to write the first two. But don't worry too much about Kunkel. *Indecision*'s film rights were sold for seven figures to producer Scott Rudin, who's also working on movie adaptations of *The Corrections* and *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier & Clay*.

But Dwight, Kunkel's indecisive hero, would be more interesting as the subject of a medical study than of a movie, or a novel. In Dwight, Kunkel diagnoses an indecisiveness that is practically an immune-deficiency disorder. "To myself I always seemed totally steeped in my environment, or dyed in local color," Dwight reflects on an airplane in mid-flight, "and now because in transit I felt suffused with utter nowhereness, and therefore like I might turn out to be anyone at all." His failure of will has become a radical failure of self. It's not just that he can't make up his mind—his mind isn't yet made. Nor is it that he can't decide between one thing and the other (although he can't)—it's that he's stuck in a more or less permanent state of in-between-ness. As one ex-girlfriend tells him after they split, "You may wonder how I'm feeling. But you're not coherent enough that I feel anything much." Over the course of *Indecision*, we get to watch Dwight slowly cohere—well, as much as he's ever going to. Kunkel has interpreted the task of the *Bildungsroman*, the novel of formation, as literally as a strict constructionist reading the Constitution. It's a clever maneuver, and very funny when it works. *Indecision* really is the novel of Dwight's formation—not just his coming-of-age but his actual coming together.

How will this Humpty Dumpty put himself together? For starters, Kunkel's hero devises to-decide lists, in the hope that list-making will help him map some shape onto his life. But this gets him nowhere. Then one night Dwight's roommate, a spectral sardonic doctor, hands him Abulinix, a blue-and-white pill that promises to cure his chronic indecision, his abulia. In interviews, Kunkel admits that Abulinix was inspired by the experimental drug in Don DeLillo's *White Noise*, which assuaged the fear of death. But *White Noise* was published one year before Prozac. Two decades later, it no longer seems particularly worrying or particularly wondrous that depressed adults should seek to correct their chemistry; and the drugs themselves have become too ordinary for another one to seem like a miracle. A parable of prescription drugs nowadays just seems outdated, like an invitation that arrives after the party.

It's impossible to fathom why Kunkel introduces the miracle drug, and then renders it utterly beside the point. The novel is built around the idea of Abulinix as the catalyst for all of Dwight's growth, but Kunkel's treatment of the drug, and its effects within Dwight, turns out to be so casual, so lacking in rigor, that the entire conceit falls to pieces. Most of Dwight's big decisions are made for him before the drug can even take effect. Dwight is fired from his crappy tech job before he can decide whether or not to quit. And his girlfriend dumps herself in due course when Dwight decamps New York not for the woods of Vermont but the jungles of Ecuador. How he manages to get himself to Ecuador is still a little hard to explain. The drugs haven't kicked in, so he has to flip a coin—five times. Still, the purchase of a plane ticket, with its multitude of destinations, departure times and seat assignments, should give Dwight a massive brain hemorrhage, but Kunkel just tosses it off via parenthesis. This sort of sloppiness eventually overwhelms the novel.

Critics fell all over themselves to praise *Indecision* as a brilliant portrait of Dwight's generation, but the novel is far more convincing when it simply tells the story of Dwight's family. About the Wilmerdings who made him, Dwight remarks:

> What solitary people my family were! It amazed me that two of its members had ever gotten together to produce the others. But then solitary people pretending not to be—that must be how many families start up, and how the race of the lonely has grown so numerous.

Instead of hugging and kissing one another, the four Wilmerdings used to deposit hugs and kisses and filial affection on their sad, cowlicky golden retriever (now gone)—as if a pet were a joint savings account. Dwight's parents have divorced, and the various Wilmerdings are not just solitary but all alone. Kunkel oddly seems happier to keep Dwight alone: In a novel that again and again imagines the most radical and the most hopeful possibilities of empathy, Kunkel still makes sure to protect his hero from ever having to confront the reality and gravity of other individuals.

Nonetheless, Dwight can't quite keep a healthy distance from his sister, Alice, a radical anthropologist. A visit to her room tells us everything we need to know about her. There's the tiny twin bed with its "pleasant and reassuringly girlish lavender bedspread," where she has been known to entertain both boys and girls. Above the bed: the stuffed head of an African ibex that Alice, a vegetarian, bagged on her last father-daughter hunting trip. Across from the dead head: an East German propaganda poster that demonstrates the proper use of giant red hammers on capitalist fingers. By these points—bed, taxidermy, poster—Alice is triangulated and surveyed like a plot of land. And in this room, Dwight lies down on her bed as if it were a doctor's couch and in her PJs she plays shrink, pro bono, while puffing theatrically on a "big fat Freudian cigar." But her psychology is less *The Interpretation of Dreams* and more *Das Kapital*. Diagnoses Alice: "Part of it is that we belong to a social class and a generation where our parents live too long and remain too economically powerful." Asks Dwight: "Is this going to be Communist therapy?"

Alice has gone reddish, having outlived the cold war and outgrown the dog collars and Izod polos of her "punk WASP bitch" phase. Still, she assures their father that when the revolution comes she will not (a) stand him up against the wall and shoot him personally, or (b) encourage any of her comrades to stand him up against the wall and shoot him.

"Come on, Alice," says Dad instead of thanks, "Show some spine. A diffident revolutionary is no good. I'm a commodities trader. If you don't kill me, who will you?" Which makes her cry.

Mr. Wilmerding is absent-minded

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STEINHAUSEN

1 YEAR warranty
30 DAY money back guarantee

LIMITED TIME OFFER

- *All Steinhausen watch designs are patented, Pat. D490001 Accept no imitations.*
- *Steinhausen is a registered trademark.*

Marquise Gold
TW391G
(Shown in photo)

Classic Silver
TW381
(Shown in photo)

We did not invent time. We simply perfected it with the Steinhausen Classic & Marquise. Old World craftsmanship meets New World technology.

Swiss inventor and architect Ulrich Van-Heusen was a master craftsman who dedicated himself to his trade. He lived in an era when only the wealthy could afford a timepiece. But in 1923, Van-Heusen completed his first automatic calendar watch – only one of seven he ever completed. It displayed not only the time, but also the date, day and month; and it was the first to designate the difference between AM and PM. Van-Heusen named his brand Steinhausen after the region in Switzerland from where his family came. He was steadfast in his belief that wristwatches, not the prevalent pocket watch, would eventually become an item people could not live without. And he was correct! Wristwatches became the must-have item for people of all social strata and the distinguished gentry bought Steinhausen's handcrafted marvels. One that remains today recently fetched $300,000 at auction. The Great Depression almost eliminated handmade watches of this quality.

Reborn After 80 Years

Steinhausen continues its reputation of producing the finest workmanship and classy designs. And now we are pleased to re-introduce the original Steinhausen model with stylish updates. Each movement is painstakingly reproduced by hand from 185 genuine Swiss parts. 35 jeweled stones inside aid movement and accuracy. Then it is so rigorously tested for two weeks that just six percent of movements made end up in a Steinhausen. Swiss automatic movement standards allow for an accuracy of +25/-27 seconds per day. Our Steinhausen watches rate +15/-13 seconds per day, making it more accurate. The Limited Edition Marquise follows the tradition of displaying the day, date, month, year, and moon and stars depicting day and night. The sweeping second-hand movement, brushed and polished stainless steel, and ivory face with Roman numerals is included, too. We have added hand-cut precious sapphire gemstones to the buttons and crown. Included with each Marquise are interchangeable brown and black leather wristbands to match whatever clothes you're wearing. It comes in a handsome felt-lined wood box, along with a card certifying its authenticity.

Satisfaction Guaranteed

Your appreciation of your Marquise or Classic is certain to increase over time. We are so confident that you will receive such an abundance of compliments that your handsome Marquise and Classic comes with a 1 Year warranty. That means that if anything goes wrong with your Marquise or Classic we will replace your watch for free! You just pay for the shipping. Of course, every Steinhausen is backed by our 30 day money back guarantee. If you are not completely satisfied with your Marquise or Classic, return it within 30 days for a full refund and pay only shipping and handling.

Accept No Imitations

Charles Caleb Colton first said "Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery" back in 1820. You may have seen other advertisements for similar looking watches with similar stories. Make no mistake: Steinhausen is the original timepiece found in history books, and highly sought after by Japanese and European collectors. Steinhausens are only found in fine retailers and through Steinhausenonline.com. Don't purchase a watch that looks like a Steinhausen from anywhere else, for you will be buying an imitation. Be the first to wear this remarkable re-issue to the world-famous Steinhausen line.

Offer not available in stores

Classic TW381 **(Silver)** ~~**$199.95**~~ now $99.95
TW381G **(Gold)** ~~**$249.95**~~ now $149.95
Marquise TW391 **(Silver)** ~~**$199.95**~~ now $129.95
TW391G **(Gold)** ~~**$249.95**~~ now $179.95
Also Available (not shown in photo):
Ladies Marquise TW691 **(Silver)** ~~**$199.95**~~ now $99.95
TW691G **(Gold)** ~~**$249.95**~~ now $149.95

All prices do not include shipping and handling
Limit one Steinhausen Classic Silver at 50% off per customer

Shop online at
www.steinhausenonline.com/6DNAP
for additional Steinhausen products and greater savings

Order 24 hours a day
800-429-0039
Mention offer 6DNAP

Steinhausen
12621 Encinitas Ave. • Sylmar, CA 91342

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enough to lose cars, his fortune, his children and his wife. After golf and a great deal of scotch, he discourses on the long line of cynics from himself back to Diogenes, shouts obscure advice and chucks office supplies straight at Dwight's head. He's the father Odysseus probably was whenever he was stuck on land and at home. And then, there's the matter of their mother, who, between the cheery devout Episcopalianism and the sudden vegetarianism, may or may not have become a nun.

But Dwight skips town before we find out. He switches hemispheres in search of his old prep school crush Natasha, but is instead presented with Brigid, the beautiful Belgian-Argentine anthropologist. Brigid reminds him, and us, of his sister, but the resemblance only goes so far. Brigid, for instance, reacts significantly better when he goes in for a kiss. This is good news for Dwight, but bad news for the rest of us. The special promise and antic, affecting comedy of *Indecision*'s opening chapters do not survive Dwight's not-so-perilous journey through the jungle into Brigid's arms. As Dwight evolves, the novel devolves.

Once Dwight escapes from New York, his surroundings grow more exotic but more superficial. His challenges get fewer and duller, and the novel is at a loss to introduce characters as difficult and dynamic as the Wilmerdings. Among the Ecuadoreans, there aren't even any real speaking parts, and poor Brigid is hardly more than a stalking horse for Alice. This is another glaring example of a kind of cowardice that mars the novel. The vanishing of the Wilmerdings might clear the way for Dwight to transform, but it also renders that transformation totally illegitimate. Our families don't just precede us in the fossil record; they are the most irreducible facts of who we are, and who we feel, too often, forced to be. Rather than reckon with his origins, and the origins of his indecision, the all-new, all-decisive Dwight just writes off his family in a couple of slapdash, too-glib e-mails from Ecuador; if they respond to him, we do not read it or hear about it. In keeping them silent, Kunkel has failed his own work.

Nietzsche once wrote, against Wagner, "I believe that artists often do not know what they can do best: they are too vain. They are intent on something prouder than these small plants seem to be which grow on their soil." Whether it's ambition or pride, Kunkel seems unable to recognize that *Indecision* is at its funniest and most touching in its depiction of Dwight's family; it's a tremendous letdown when, about halfway through the novel, all the other troublesome, colorful, loud Wilmerdings are "disappeared" like dissidents. Haven't we read enough novels about young men shipping out to sea, rafting down the river, driving cross-country, playing hooky, running off? But Dwight still has to strap on a backpack and see South America like Che Guevara. It's probably not fair of me to be disappointed that Kunkel wrote his own book and not *The Corrections*, or *The Oresteia*. But he's a better novelist than he is a tour guide, and had Dwight stayed home, Kunkel might have given us an epic, or a poem.

But we stay worried about the Wilmerdings even after Kunkel has hustled them offstage. Let's forget, for the moment, Mom's celibacy and Dad's drinking. The most pressing issue in the Wilmerding clan is the kiss Dwight plants on Alice's lips. That he wasn't going to slip her the tongue really isn't any excuse, or consolation. That it's the morning after September 11 makes the whole thing that much worse. For the record, the only brothers who ever really want to fuck their sisters are found in Faulkner novels, *The Aristocrats* and Greek myths, when the dating pool was much smaller. It's a literary problem, not an actual one. At least Kunkel gives Alice an ingeniously simple and semi-heartbreaking theory of why Dwight wants to keep it in the family. "Look, the trouble is not that you and I or any siblings actually want to fuck one another. The trouble is that we don't—everything would be so easy if we did," opines Alice. "I'm the one girl you actually got to know in the right way. It was gradual, it was inevitable—obviously we didn't have any choice in the matter." Alice says all this before the kiss. After it, she points Dwight out the door and says, "What do you think it means to be a family? We're the people we never get over. Now go!"

Dwight's anthropologist sister doesn't take well to his kiss. Fortunately, another pretty anthropologist awaits him in Ecuador.

Dwight doesn't have to get over her, because Kunkel, like a clever tax attorney, exploits for his hero a heretofore unexplored loophole in the incest taboo. In a surprise twist, Dwight's whole trip to Ecuador turns out to be a blind date, elaborately staged. Sister Alice and doppelgänger Brigid (secretly grad school colleagues) have conspired to insure that Dwight falls for the one whose genes don't match his. This is indefensible and cheap: The novel sanctions his incestuous desire rather than forcing him to confront, outgrow or even apologize for it. And it's yet another decision that Dwight takes credit for, without having actually made it. In *Indecision*, resolutions and epiphanies are not so much earned as given away like gifts to a spoiled child.

So we have every reason to doubt Dwight's last-second conversion to a particularly swashbuckling strain of democratic socialism—not least of all because it takes place mid-orgasm, mid–drug trip. Che himself might have skipped the leper colonies if he'd known that one could become a socialist merely by drinking the boiled juice of a cactus and then humping your new girlfriend in the jungle like Adam and Eve, post-apple. But it would be a stretch to say that Dwight has decided to become anything. Brigid's enthusiastic beliefs have just bled into him, in the same way that an airplane flight saturates him with nowhereness. It's just more osmosis. After he's been thoroughly socialized, Dwight will dedicate his life to publicizing the plight of Bolivian coca farmers, about whom the "news is not great." But every night Dwight stays up late and, underneath the Southern Hemisphere's superabundance of stars, writes the book in our hands. Despite the government-sanctioned beating of the farmers and the US-funded burning of their farms, Dwight is still far more focused on the poverty and oppression inside himself. His socialism is never a coherent ideology or a concrete political solution. It's just another form of self-help.

Don't get me wrong. I don't begrudge Dwight his happy ending. I'm glad he didn't end up stopped like a watch at the bottom of a river or run through with a poisoned rapier, having already poisoned or run through everybody else. But it's impossible not to feel let down when the novel gets sillier and sloppier the deeper into the rainforest it goes, until it becomes like some lost Hope and Crosby comedy—*Road to Ecuador*. Dwight evolves over the course of *Indecision* from an entirely empty vessel to an empty vessel with political platitudes to embrace and a substitute sister to fuck. The rest of us, in our indecision, will have to look elsewhere, in other books or in ourselves, to find out how to make meaningful, creative, passionate choices. Our lives will be hard, will need to be worked at, where Dwight's will continue to be easy, and easily skated through. Benjamin Kunkel may become a serious novelist, but *Indecision* is not a serious novel. ■

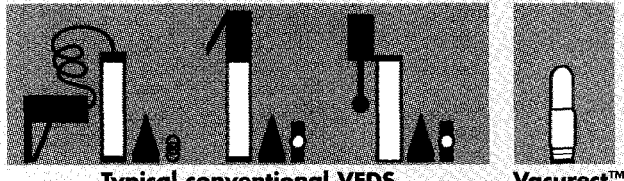
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now you too can beat ERECTILE DYSFUNCTION

Erectile Dysfunction (ED) effects about 30 million men in the USA. The causes are varied and range from psychological reasons to health conditions. But serious as it is, some men still compound the problem by not taking steps to deal with it. The result – often a complete breakdown in their most intimate relationship.

"My diagnosis of cancer came as a shock to myself and my wife – little did we know that it would also end our intimate experiences... that was until we found the Vacurect™ vacuum therapy system. So simple and easy to use... after several months of use I began to regain my normal function." – Mobile, AL.

Vacurect™ was designed by a 47 year old professional engineer who was experiencing ED himself. With the assistance of urologists and sexologists, he decided to tackle the problems of bulkiness and awkward method of use inherent in traditional Vacuum Erection Device (VED) design. The breakthrough result is an extremely compact and easy to use solution... see for yourself!



Typical conventional VEDS — Vacurect™

" For the last five years, my husband and I had been using an earlier model vacuum system... it was awkward to include in our lovemaking and the rings were uncomfortable for my husband. Now the Vacurect™ has unbelievably enhanced our intimate moments together" – Clifton, N.J.

Additional Advantages

Control: You determine when, how long and how often.

Consistency: Vacurect™ produces an enhanced erection every time – no waiting!

Safety: No pills, no implants, no injections and no risky drugs!

Proven Performance: No pills, no implants, no injections and no risky drugs!

Medically Approved Vacurect™ is FDA registered and approved by Medicare and most other Secondary Insurance Companies. For your convenience, we will obtain a prescription from your physician and file all insurance claims for you.

Why wait another day?
Live your life fully – bring intimacy back into your life **TODAY!** Call one of our trained clinical specialists right now to learn more and to **request a FREE Patient Starter Kit** or, if you prefer, complete and send in the coupon below. Be sure to include your telephone number.

We are so confident that you will find our product beneficial, that we offer an unconditional, 30-day money back guarantee!

BONRO MEDICAL

Call today TOLL-FREE!

877-266-7699

BONRO Medical Inc.
3801-A Washington Rd.
Martinez, GA. 30907

Visit our website
www.bonro.com

NAT.10.05

YES, please tell me more about the revolutionary Vacurect™.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

Phone _____

E-mail _____

Please Fax: (706) 210-4740, or mail completed coupon to:
BONRO Medical Inc., PO Box 211610, Martinez, GA. 30917

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I Am My Own Reporter
On Cuba and Latin America
iammyownreporter.com
Helping To Fill A Gaping Hole
In The Mainstream News

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to The Nation Institute.
For information write: Executive Director, The Nation Institute, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003; (212) 209-5400.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

MOVING?
Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:
THE NATION
PO Box 55149
Boulder, CO 80322-5149
Please allow 4–6 weeks for processing.

PROBLEMS?
If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write to us at the address above, or call:
1 (800) 333-8536

Rearranging the Furniture

ELIF BATUMAN

In the spring of 1920, on the banks of the Dnieper, the Formalist critic Viktor Shklovsky found himself commanding a demolition squad in the Red Army. With no dynamite, detonators or safety fuses at his disposal, Shklovsky, a lifelong admirer of Robinson Crusoe, turned his improvisatory genius to the field of military pyrotechnics. Gathering the materials at hand—a disassembled smoke bomb, "some little white cylinders of German origin" and a lit cigarette—he withdrew to a deserted ravine. As he recalled:

> My arms were flung back; I was lifted, seared and turned head over heels. The air filled with explosions. The cylinder had blown up in my hands. I hardly had time for a fleeting thought about my book *Plot as a Stylistic Phenomenon*. Who would write it now?

The great Formalist, somewhat perforated and mangled, was rushed to the hospital in a cart normally reserved for "potato expeditions." Even here, the spirit of scientific endeavor did not desert him: "Take a report," Shklovsky directed, supine in the potato cart. "The object given to me for purposes of experimentation proved to be too powerful for use as a primer. The explosion took place prematurely.... use regular primers!"

Viktor Borisovich Shklovsky was the kind of man who, in a state of affliction, is already debating how his injuries may further the cause of science. Fortunately, he lived to write the book for which he spared a thought midair: the 1925 masterpiece *Theory of Prose*, arguably the foundational text of Russian Formalism.

Shklovsky was born in St. Petersburg in 1893, descended on his father's side from Jews who fled the 1768 massacre in Uman; on his mother's side, his grandmother was the daughter of a Russian Orthodox deacon. Because of his poor spelling, Shklovsky failed several high school entrance exams and attended "bad schools" that were "overrun with rejects." Admitted nonetheless to the department of philology at the University of Petersburg, he was alarmed to discover that "nothing was being done about prose theory," failed his exams in ancient Greek and began frequenting the Stray Dog, a cafe where he met the Futurist poets Vladimir Mayakovsky and Velimir Khlebnikov and presented his first scholarly analyses of Futurist verse.

In 1914 Shklovsky enlisted in the army, studied "vehicle operation and maintenance" and acquired a lifelong passion for fast cars. Back in Petrograd he formed the Society for the Study of Poetic Language (OPOYAZ), which convened in the apartment of the critic Osip Brik and his wife, Lilya. OPOYAZ began publishing "Formalist" articles in 1916, and continued meeting throughout the war, between Shklovsky's stints as commissar on the Austrian front and in the Russian territory in Persia.

Formalism was invented in the meetings of OPOYAZ and of a second group called the Moscow Linguistic Circle, founded by Roman Jakobson in 1915 with the participation of Mayakovsky; the most lasting achievement of the Circle was Jakobson's *Modern Russian*

BOOKS DISCUSSED IN THIS ESSAY

THEORY OF PROSE.
By Viktor Shklovsky.
Translated by Benjamin Sher.
Dalkey Archive. 216 pp. $14.95.

A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY: Memoirs, 1917–1922.
By Viktor Shklovsky.
Translated by Richard Sheldon.
Dalkey Archive. 304 pp. $13.95.

ZOO, OR LETTERS NOT ABOUT LOVE.
By Viktor Shklovsky.
Translated by Richard Sheldon.
Dalkey Archive. 164 pp. $11.95.

THIRD FACTORY.
By Viktor Shklovsky.
Translated by Richard Sheldon.
Dalkey Archive. 106 pp. $12.95.

KNIGHT'S MOVE.
By Viktor Shklovsky.
Translated by Richard Sheldon.
Dalkey Archive. 143 pp. $13.95.

Elif Batuman is a doctoral candidate in literature at Stanford University. She is also a contributor to the literary magazine n+1.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Poetry (1921). Shklovsky, for his part, shifted his attention entirely from poetry to prose in 1918. That fall he fled Petrograd to avoid arrest for his affiliation with the Socialist Revolutionaries. He dyed his hair purple and briefly hid in Jakobson's library. ("If there's a search," Jakobson instructed, "rustle and say you're paper.") Shklovsky spent the rest of the year in Ukraine but returned to Petrograd in time to survive the famine of 1919 on a diet of potato peels and birch-sap tea. "You could boil this sap for a year without making it any worse," he noted, displaying a characteristic gift for looking on the bright side. In January 1920 Shklovsky challenged a bourgeois "imitator" to a duel, and won. Shortly afterward he married Vasilisa Kordi, traveled to Kiev and joined the Reds as a demolitionist. After nearly detonating himself, Shklovsky was sent home to Petrograd, where he continued his work on prose.

In 1922 a new wave of arrests threatened the former SRs. Shklovsky fled via Finland to Berlin, where his acute homesickness nearly drove him to a nervous collapse. In Berlin he met and fell in love with Lilya Brik's sister, Elsa Triolet, who was, as it happened, also beloved by Roman Jakobson. Due perhaps to Triolet's impartial rejection of both Formalists—as Shklovsky ruefully put it, "All men are equal before you as before the Lord"—Shklovsky and Jakobson remained friends. "Roma sends me one telegram in the morning and one at night," Shklovsky wrote to Maxim Gorky in 1922. "I love him like a lover."

Thanks to a bit of string-pulling by Gorky, Shklovsky was allowed to return to Russia toward the end of 1923. Back home, he met with increasingly vituperative attacks from Soviet Marxist literary critics, who objected to his insistence on the autonomy of literature in relation to other social forces. Throughout the 1920s Shklovsky gradually retreated from his intellectual entrenchment; in 1930 he finally conceded, in *A Monument to Scientific Error*, that the time had come for critics to study "the Marxist method."

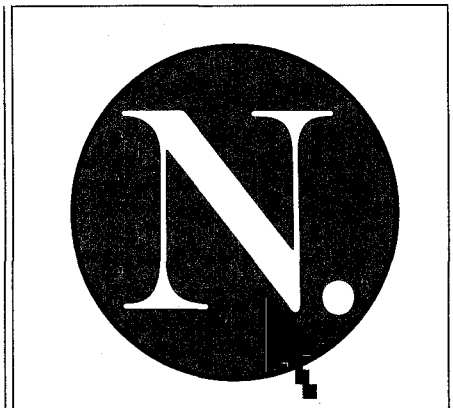
Formalism literally ended overnight with the publication of *Monument*. Although Shklovsky continued writing and publishing in Russia until his death in 1984, his work was poorly received, and almost nothing he wrote after 1926 has been translated into English. He is remembered primarily for *Theory of Prose*, now in its third English edition—part of a newly reissued series from Dalkey Archive Press, including *Knight's Move*, *A Sentimental Journey*, *Zoo* and *Third Factory*.

Theory of Prose begins with the question of what distinguishes the prose of novels and short stories from ordinary language. Poetry was already recognized, thanks largely to Jakobson, as an autonomous language with clear formal rules; but prose was still typically characterized by its content—beautiful images, for instance, or "philosophical truths." Shklovsky's revolutionary move was to redefine prose as form, as a function of the artistic "device."

The key Formalist device is *ostranenie*, variously translated as "defamiliarization," "making the familiar strange," "estrangement" or—in the translator Benjamin Sher's vaguely annoying neologism, which is, however, faithful to the original Russian neologism—"enstrangement." Shklovsky's most famous example of enstrangement is the description of the opera, in *War and Peace*, as a collection of "very fat" people singing in front of "painted pictures" and "green cardboard."

The concept of enstrangement gradually spawned an entire literary methodology, and even a model of literary history. All literary forms eventually ossify into cliché, and new forms are created only when subsequent writers are able to identify, expose and "enstrange" these clichés: thus Cervantes invented the modern novel by exposing the cliché of chivalric romance. New forms, then, appear "not in order to express a new content but in order to replace an old form that has outlived its artistic usefulness." (In this respect, Shklovsky is diametrically opposed to Georg Lukács, who maintains that the chivalric romance expired because it ceased to reflect reality. For Shklovsky the chivalric romance, like the rest of literature, had never reflected reality in the first place.) At its most extreme, Formalism rejects "content" altogether in favor of either "the device" or "motivation of the device": Napoleon becomes a mere "device" to impose order and disorder on the narrative of *War and Peace*; King Lear's madness is a "motivation of the device" of misrecognition. In an essay "On Tolstoy's Crises," Formalist critic Boris Eikhenbaum even claims that Tolstoy's conversion was "really" just his motivation for a new literary method.

Because of its rejection of psychology and philosophy, Formalism has often been accused of "soullessness." However, some version of the "human struggle" is present in Shklovsky's *Theory of Prose*,



TheNation.

THE NATION DIGITAL ARCHIVE

AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY...SINCE 1865

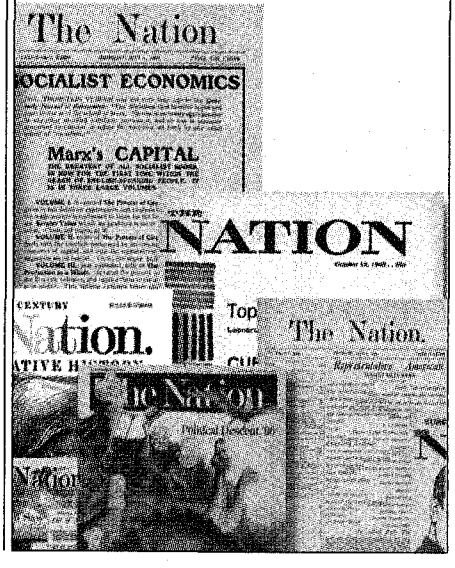
Just imagine...over 6,500 *Nation* issues...140 years of astonishing insight from an unparalleled group of contributors...from Reconstruction through the Millennium...all just a click away. **No researcher should be without it.**

The Nation Archive was digitized to enable researchers to access invaluable historical material in ways never before possible–**with lightning-fast searches of nearly 200,000 pages for specific topics, authors, issues and date ranges.** A powerful web-enabled database application combined with Adobe's Acrobat Reader allows chronological browsing as well as advanced full-text searching. The Nation Archive is available to libraries or individuals on a subscription basis, via the World Wide Web.

Lobby your local public library or university and request that it add this fully searchable database of indispensable material to its collection. Or ask them to call (800) 350-6944, e-mail us at archive@thenation.com or visit our website at www.nationarchive.com to activate their thirty-day free trial.

Individual access is also available at

www.nationarchive.com



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A NATION ROCKED TO SLEEP
BY
CARLY SHEEHAN

ARMY SPC. CASEY SHEEHAN WAS KILLED IN BAGDAD ON APRIL 4TH 2004. HIS YOUNGER SISTER CARLY WROTE THIS POEM ABOUT HER BROTHERS DEATH.

Have you ever heard the sound of a mother screaming for her son?
The torrential rains of a mother's weeping will never be done
They call him a hero, you should be glad that he's one, but
Have you ever heard the sound of a mother screaming for her son?
Have you ever heard the sound of a father holding back his cries?
He must be brave because his boy died for another man's lies
The only grief he allows himself are long, deep sighs
Have you ever heard the sound of a father holding back his cries?
Have you ever heard the sound of taps played at your brother's grave?
They say that he died so that the flag will continue to wave
But I believe he died because they had oil to save
Have you ever heard the sound of taps played at your brother's grave?
Have you ever heard the sound of a nation being rocked to sleep?
The leaders want to keep you numb so the pain won't be so deep
But if we the people let them continue another mother will weep
Have you ever heard the sound of a nation being rocked to sleep?

www.gsfp.org

No Need for an Up or Down Vote.
It's Always your Right to Choose pair Networks.

The Choice is Yours. Not the Senate's. Not the President's.
Choose a Web hosting company that will take care of you and your Web site.
There's no filibustering needed when it comes to choosing pair Networks — high-quality Web hosting at a fair price.

pair®
www.pair.com

PEACENIKS ARE PATRIOTIC!
Let's replace support for war with support for peace
MAGNETS
BUMPERS & MORE!
phoenix4peace.com

Voodoo Dolls handmade!
Personal.
Political.
Custom or Bush and Cheney.
1 for $10, 2 for $15
Checks/Money orders.
Ms. Amelia. P.O. Box 922 Kingston, WA 98346

CRUISE BY FREIGHTER
TravLtips
Worldwide. First Class
Relaxing. Reasonable
e-mail: info@travltips.com
800-872-8584 www.travltips.com

recast as a struggle between enstrangement and "automatization." "Automatization eats away at things, at clothes, at furniture, at our wives, and at our fear of war": alienation results and, paradoxically, only enstrangement can bring us back together. Shklovsky illustrates the point with a quote from Tolstoy's diary. "As I was walking around dusting things off in my room," writes Tolstoy, "I came to the sofa. For the life of me, I couldn't recall whether I had already dusted it or not." Tolstoy has no trouble coaxing from this non-event a philosophical conundrum: If he has dusted the sofa and forgotten about it, and if nobody was paying attention, then it is essentially just as if he had never dusted the sofa. Therefore, if there are people who live life as inattentively and unobservedly as he, Tolstoy, dusts the sofa—these people might as well never have lived.

Here we catch a glimpse of how high Shklovsky's stakes really are: He is playing for nothing less than human history itself. And yet, what he is restoring to human history is, in this case, the lost spectacle of Tolstoy dusting the sofa—more precisely, the spectacle of Tolstoy trying to remember whether he had already dusted the sofa, apparently such a nuanced question that it could not be resolved by merely inspecting the sofa.

Furniture, real and metaphysical, lies at the heart of Shklovsky's theory. After all, only something close to us—something we see every day—can be "enstranged." Shklovsky restores to us the most boring moments, handing them back to us as the most valuable. He shares the Futurists' telegraphic typography, their omnivorous metaphors—but while Mayakovsky is striding "across the mountains of time," "preceded by/Napoleon, like a pug on a leash," while Khlebnikov is drafting proposals to have all Futurists "promoted to the ranks of Martians" (signed "Velimir I, King of Time")—while even Jakobson is analyzing the Futurist use of "transrational language"—Shklovsky is resurrecting Tolstoy and his dusty sofa.

The tension between the revolutionary and the everyday—between Futurism and, well, furniturism—is a running theme in *A Sentimental Journey* (1923), Shklovsky's memoir of the war years. If this book succeeds in nothing else, it succeeds in enstranging the furniture. Consider the scene in which Shklovsky attends the performance, at a Kiev cafe in 1920, of a French clairvoyant who fields questions from the audience. What do the people most want to learn from the man who can see the future? They want to learn the fate of their furniture. "Is my furniture in Petersburg still all right?" they demand.

"I see, yes, I see it—your furniture," replies the clairvoyant, lurching about the stage in his blindfold, "it's all right."

A Sentimental Journey shimmers with these transitory moments of "reorganization": The old furniture hovers briefly in the ether over a Kiev cafe, briefly "all right"—before being boiled, perhaps, into tea. Samovars are used to pound nails; pianos are burned for firewood.

The defamiliarizing power of war is particularly clear in Shklovsky's account of the "special folklore" generated by war. In 1918, for example, a "folklore" develops around the theme of the French army, including two concurrent rumors. It is said that "the French had a violet ray with which they could blind all the Bolsheviks"; it is said, by the same people, that the French had already landed in Odessa and marked off a new French colony with chairs—"not even cats could get through." Cervantes glimpsed, in a moment of genius, the imaginary overlap between a giant and a windmill; so does Shklovsky capture the fleeting convergence of a blinding "violet ray" with a pile of chairs.

In 1923 Shklovsky undertook his second exercise in device-centered literature: *Zoo, or Letters Not About Love*, an epistolary "novel" based on his correspondence with Triolet. Triolet, who really wrote the seven letters attributed to her in the book, subsequently expanded one of them into a novel, became a novelist and won a Prix Goncourt in 1944. *Zoo* begins with a prohibition: Triolet forbids Shklovsky from writing to her about love. Shklovsky gamely complies. "Writing about love is forbidden," begins Letter Seven, "so I'll write about Zinovy Grzhebin, the publisher." Grzhebin, we learn, has been exiled to Berlin, where he compulsively buys and publishes Russian manuscripts. The censors won't let the manuscripts into Russia. Grzhebin, undiscouraged, keeps publishing them "like a rejected suitor who ruins himself buying flowers." Amazingly, every subject Shklovsky chooses turns out to be a metaphor for unrequited love—from the weather to the living conditions of Berlin's anthropoid ape.

At the end comes a turn of the screw. The last letter is addressed not to Triolet but to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and consists of a request to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be allowed back into Russia. "It is not right that I should be living in Berlin," Shklovsky writes. "I raise my arm and surrender." Love, the object of all the metaphors, itself turns out to have been a metaphor for exile. Ultimately *Zoo* is driven neither by the love plot nor the exile plot but by that painful formula "it is not right." Shklovsky really has managed to write a book whose content is incidental to its form.

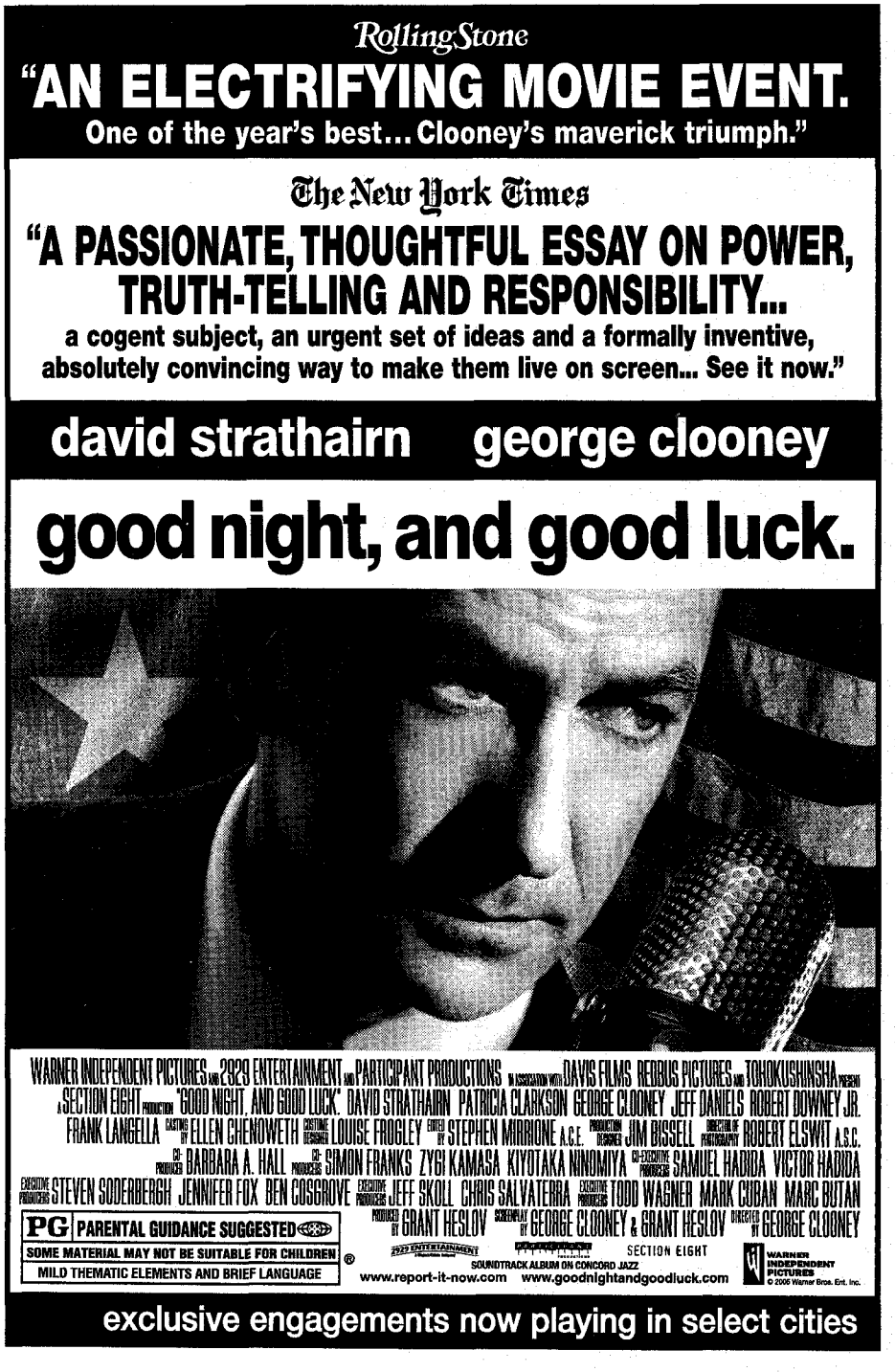
In the preface, Shklovsky claims that *Zoo* began as a series of essays on Russian Berlin and that he turned to the embargo on love letters as a "device." But as contemporary readers knew, Shklovsky's love and Triolet's embargo were real, so they couldn't be "devices" to motivate a series of essays on Berlin... could they? In fact, the reality of Elsa's indifference does nothing to preclude its use as a plot device.

Here we can see the "soulless" Formalist obsession with "device" as a means of elevating writing to the level of life itself. For Shklovsky, work rather than love is the height of human endeavor—and literature is a form of work. Shklovsky makes the obvious but neglected point that a writer is someone whose life consists primarily of writing. In such a life, it makes sense for an unhappy love affair—or a political exile, or a religious conversion—to be "motivation of a device." It is no more "human" to suffer for love than to suffer for plot construction.

In 1976 Fredric Jameson expressed "astonishment that [Russian Formalism] has had so little impact on American critical practice." It is still possible to be astonished. True, Formalism is taught in most American universities, but it is often dismissed as a critical movement that "failed" as a result of its hubristic claims to scientific rigor. Critical arduousness had driven its practitioners mad: Tynianov, increasingly disabled by multiple sclerosis, abandoned criticism and obsessively produced historical novels; Eikhenbaum kept rewriting his multivolume analysis of Tolstoy until his heart gave out. Jakobson survived, turned to semiotics, enjoyed a distinguished career at Harvard—but even he was somehow damaged: The great scholar of aphasia never really shook the Formalist belief in the "total analysis" of poetry through close reading. Hadn't his own readings grown smaller and smaller, as each word opened into an infinite abyss, one day to swallow him altogether?

As for Shklovsky, he is portrayed as a kind of negative Galileo, recanting his work at 37 and spending the rest of his days in unproductive "arrest." In his seminal *History of Russian Formalism* (1954), Victor Erlich reproaches Shklovsky for "capitulating" to Marxism, which he characterizes as both bad politics and bad scholarship. "Gone were the days," writes Erlich, "when Shklovsky referred airily to Marxism as a gadget which might some day come in handy. Now he was quite ready to swear by the name of the master and to recognize Marxist dialectics as the alpha and omega of literary scholarship."

Today, the word on Shklovsky is still strangely circular: He recanted because he was wrong, and he was wrong because he recanted. Nobody seems to have entertained the possibility that Shklovsky's Marxist "conversion" might have been motivated by literary concerns. In fact, Marxism and literary criticism are by no means incompatible, as Lukács, among others, has shown. Shklovsky's theory clearly needed some revision—in the long run, no serious critic can maintain a total autonomy of art from all other aspects of human history. Isn't it possible that Shklovsky was using Marxist theory precisely in order to make this revi-


Rolling Stone
"AN ELECTRIFYING MOVIE EVENT.
One of the year's best... Clooney's maverick triumph."
The New York Times
"A PASSIONATE, THOUGHTFUL ESSAY ON POWER, TRUTH-TELLING AND RESPONSIBILITY...
a cogent subject, an urgent set of ideas and a formally inventive, absolutely convincing way to make them live on screen... See it now."
david strathairn george clooney
good night, and good luck.
PG PARENTAL GUIDANCE SUGGESTED
SOME MATERIAL MAY NOT BE SUITABLE FOR CHILDREN
MILD THEMATIC ELEMENTS AND BRIEF LANGUAGE
www.report-it-now.com www.goodnightandgoodluck.com
exclusive engagements now playing in select cities

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion, in order to account for some interplay between literature and other "social facts"?

Third Factory, Shklovsky's third semi-autobiographical work, addresses this interplay. The central conceit is of life as a factory that "processes" the writer according to the laws of "unfreedom." Unfreedom, though painful, is good for literature. *Don Quixote*, according to Shklovsky, "owes its existence to unfreedom"; after all, Cervantes thought of *Don Quixote* in a prison cell.

Shklovsky's metaphor for salutary unfreedom is the chess knight: Unfree to move in a straight line, the knight must travel in an L. In *Knight's Move* (1923), the unfreedom is purely formal; by *Third Factory* it is dictated externally, by arbitrary "destiny." Destiny, not form, deforms Cervantes's knight into a knight *manqué*.

In *Third Factory*, Shklovsky attempts to decipher the deformations of his own destiny. In a quasi-Proustian search for the meaning of "his time," he decides to visit the novelist Andrei Platonov, whom he finds dredging rivers in Voronezh. The depressingness of the trip is barely mitigated by the opportunity afforded to make fun of "Comrade Platonov," who, playing Levin to Shklovsky's Oblonsky, takes his guest on a tour of orphanages, dams and villages called Big Stump and Dog's Wallow. At one point, Shklovsky toys with the idea of making fun of some cows, only to realize that the joke is on him: "The fields do not need my irony. I do need the fields, though; I need real things. If I don't find some way of seeing them, I will die."

Shklovsky is facing an ultimatum—find a way to "see real things," or die—which recurs throughout Russian literature. It is enacted in the ending of *Anna Karenina*: Anna, unable to transcend the adultery novel, commits suicide; Levin returns to his farming, manages to see real things and survives. In Shklovsky's account, Mayakovsky was facing the same impasse. As early as 1924, Shklovsky wrote of Mayakovsky that an "absence of irony" had made him a "captive of his theme"; theme, Shklovsky warned, is "nothing in particular but a nail, on which you can hang yourself, or just your hat." Mayakovsky—who was born the same year as Shklovsky—shot himself in 1930, the same year that Shklovsky published his "Monument to Scientific Error." Shklovsky's "conversion" was surely his way of responding to the ultimatum: an attempt to hang his hat and walk on.

It seems fitting that Shklovsky, like Eikhenbaum, turned to Tolstoy at the end of his career: Tolstoy alone, of all Russian writers, hung his hat and not himself; Tolstoy got old, and left behind no maddeningly unfinished work. He too, like the Formalists, recanted—but so successfully that it went down in history as a "conversion."

In 1963 Shklovsky wrote a 600-page biography of Tolstoy. Tolstoy is also the subject of his last book, *Energiia zabluzhdeniia (The Energy of Error,* 1981). The "energy of error" is the mysterious force that, during the writing process, enables Tolstoy's characters to transcend their flat, "literary," initial conceptions—to turn out interesting, complicated and "true." It is tempting to interpret *The Energy of Error* as another methodological autobiography: Shklovsky started out a literary parody of himself, and the "energy of error" made him more complicated as the story went on.

And the story did go on: Shklovsky died in 1984, at age 91—indubitably a monument to something. Whether to truth or to scientific error is an open question. ■

FILMS

Lessons of Darkness

STUART KLAWANS

A HISTORY OF VIOLENCE • GOOD NIGHT, AND GOOD LUCK

Women and children everywhere live with men who are killers. A slight exaggeration; they live in fact with modest, decent men, who killed at some point in the past as soldiers. My father was one of them. He had fought in Patton's infantry in World War II; and though that service was a source of pride to him, the experience of it was something he kept very quiet. From hanging around when he was with his veterans' group, I learned (under a child's cloak of invisibility) that some men separate themselves from war by talking a lot about their soldiering, and some do it by talking little. In neither case, though, are they likely to own up to killing. Someone else must have pulled the trigger.

Our books and movies and television shows are heavily populated by those others: the heroes who did what they had to do. Every nation adores them, although few countries do it so piously as the United States. We Americans believe, as an article of faith, that every front door opens onto a frontier, where the law can't protect women and children. Liberty Valance is always at large in our imaginations, and a big, suffering man is always around to shoot him.

But what if that defender were not a solitary gunman? What if he were instead the quiet, loving dad who had killed in his other life? How would we feel if that man, today, proved to be good at slaughter? These are the exaggerations—slight, of course—that bring shivering life to David Cronenberg's *A History of Violence*.

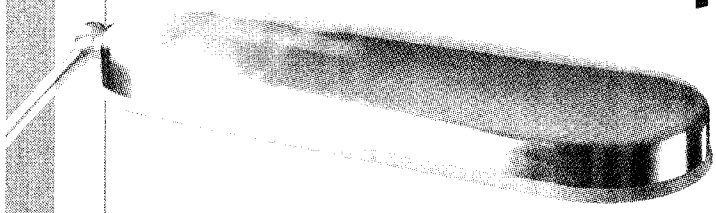
At the film's core are Tom and Edie Stall (Viggo Mortensen and Maria Bello), a couple who love each other so intensely, and are so tender toward their kids, that you ache for every moment of their doomed happiness. As a brief yet unendurable prologue shows you, two drifters are making their way cross-country, robbing and killing with a leisurely, irritable indifference. Soon the back roads must lead them to the Stalls' Indiana town. An autumn chill has started to settle on the landscape, which you might sense is readying itself for death. For a long time, though, the Stalls innocently believe that turning leaves are just signs of a new school year.

Their teenage son currently faces nothing worse than a locker-room bully; their little daughter sometimes worries about monsters, but only the kind that lurk in closets. Edie practices law, manages the house and flirts with her husband; and Tom, day by day, goes mildly about the business of running a Main Street diner—chatting with his handful of customers, joshing with the grill man, tidying up the two pieces of litter that are the sum of the town's sinfulness. Every flash of the little gold cross around Tom's neck testifies to his simple goodness, and to an imminent crucifixion.

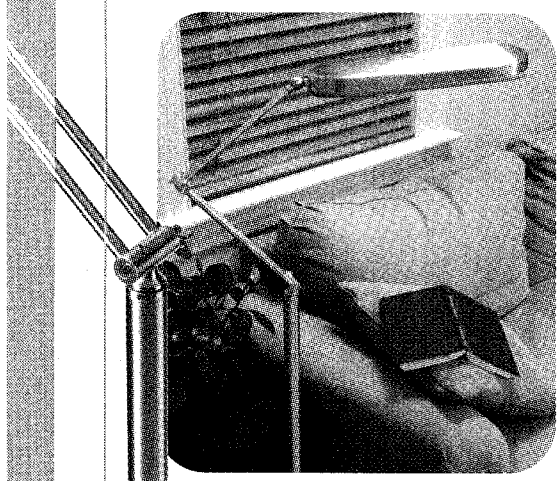
When Cronenberg can at last wring no more foreboding out of these scenes of ordinary life, the murderers stalk into the cafe. What happens next turns the gentle paterfamilias into "American hero Tom Stall" (so the newscasters say). "I just did

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sun Worshippers Rejoice!



It's time to bring more than twice as much natural light into your home in a design that's under $100.



Richmond Va. 8:55 am— In a rare collaboration of technology and design, SunWhite Laboratories is releasing for the first time ever, a breakthrough in lighting technology designed by one of the top furniture designers in the United States. In the last few years, you may have read about a revolution in indoor lighting. A new phosphoric technology allows you to replicate the Natural daylight spectrum in your home. This helps you see better, distinguish colors more accurately and reduce glare. But most of these lamps run at only 18-27 watts and are designed in an unattractive plastic. That wasn't good enough. We worked with one of the best selling furniture designers to develop the Sunwhite 55.

This gorgeous brass-finish lamp emits over 3900 lumens making it more than twice as bright as the 27-watt plastic lamps on the market. This outstanding light output is similar to a super bright 250 watt incandescent bulb but the SunWhite 55 is powered by a super efficient 55 watts so it shines brightly while using about 75% less electricity. And the bulb will burn for up to 5000 hours. This lamp will turn any room in your house into a sunroom.

It's time for every room in your house to move up to the natural daylight spectrum. Why has old incandescent light technology failed? The 100 year old construction of an ordinary incandescent bulb's light is concentrated on the orange-red part of the spectrum creating a dim yellowish light. The light from traditional fluorescent bulbs is concentrated on the yellow green portion of the spectrum giving your room a sickly greenish color.

A design you can live with. You have spent thousands on your fine home furnishings. You want your lamps to be as elegant as your home. Finished in brass, the SunWhite 55 is elegant technology that will fit into the décor of your home!

Now is the time for Pure white light. The SunWhite difference is inspired by the sun. Daylight Spectrum Lighting uses all of the visible colors in sunlight. Complex hobbies and small type becomes easier to see and color matching is much more exact. The long neck of the floor lamp has multiple hinges that allow you to point the light where it is needed most.

Research has shown that daylight spectrum lighting can:

- Make reading easier.
- Ease eyestrain.
- Reveal sharper contrast and truer colors more accurately for reading, art, knitting and needlepoint.

- **More light output than a standard 100 watt**
- **Bulb has 5,000 hour life.**

You would expect to pay $200 to $300 for a lamp this advanced. In fact many 27 watt plastic lamps are still priced over $120. But the SunWhite 55 is priced at under $100. Try it in your home. We offer you a 60-day money-back guarantee. If you're not satisfied, just return the lamp for the full purchase price, no questions asked. Call now to take advantage of our special offer. This is a special direct offer in conjunction with SunWhite Laboratories and is not available in any store.

Not available in stores.

Call now to take advantage of our special direct offer.

Sunwhite 55-watt Daylight Spectrum Lamp
~~$179.95~~ **$99.95 + S&H.**

Promotional Code SBL143-01
Please mention this when you call.

Toll-Free 24 hours a day
1-800-721-0386
To order by mail, please call for details.

We can also accept your check by phone.

NEXTTEN

14101 Southcross Drive W. Dept. SBL143-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day 800-721-0386

See more innovative products at ***www.nextten.com***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Travel to India

Gandhian Legacy and Grassroots Development
Dec 29 - Jan 12, 2006

Models of Economic Democracy
March 13, 2006 - March 27, 2006

India is at the center of major challenges to globalization - Join a Reality Tour and experience what is happening on the ground.

GLOBAL EXCHANGE
Reality Tours
800-497-1994 x261 | www.globalexchange.org

"Homeland Security" t-shirt • item #1977B • sizes S-3X

Products for Progressives since 1979.
Northern Sun Merchandising
to order, or for a free catalog • 800.258.8579 xTN
www.northernsun.com

Boom, Boom, Boom.
The sound of an Indian drum introduces Bob Cole's Action Thriller, *THE WARRIOR*, a story of the anti-nuclear movement.
John Fooleman intends to build nuclear power plants all across the country. Spike Dumpster has no redeeming qualities. Jim Kawatcha is a pacifist American Indian. "I can not kill! I can not kill!" BUT HE HAS TO KILL, KILL, and KILL AGAIN! Barb is a preacher's daughter. "If GOD gave me such fine equipment, surely he intended for me to use it."

IF YOU READ NO OTHER BOOK THIS YEAR, YOU MUST READ *THE WARRIOR*.

ISBN 0-7414-231406
Infinity Publishing, www.buybooksontheweb.com, (877-287-2665) and at other book stores. $13.95

PEACENIKS ARE PATRIOTIC!
Let's replace support for war with support for peace
MAGNETS
BUMPERS & MORE!
phoenix4peace.com

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DIVIDE
by William P. Kreml
The Bill of Rights Is A Public Sector Document
Still Selling: A Book The Right Couldn't Kill
University of South Carolina Press (800) 768-2500
www.sc.edu/uscpress/1997/3111.html

what anybody would do," mutters Tom, mouthing the formula with rather less conviction than is customary. You can see from the way he flips through TV channels that he is impatient for this episode to end—which it won't, of course. With the inevitability of a Kafka story, and with a comparably grotesque and funny precision of detail, new killers are soon replacing the old ones at Tom's counter stools. These fresh murderers are more numerous than the first batch, more jeering and expert. Worse still, they insist they know Tom.

I'm not sure how much of this story comes straight from the source (a graphic novel by John Wagner and Vince Locke), how much was invented by screenwriter Josh Olson and how much is pure Cronenberg; but I know that *A History of Violence* develops with the singleness of purpose, and the rigor, of a mathematical demonstration, one that begins with a commonly accepted truth and ends with brains spattered across the floor. The style (as in *Crash*) is distanced, composed and lingering at first, until it gains speed and force with the story's momentum. The action is both balanced and outrageous. Edie Stall, in happier days, plays dress-up for Tom, but later she is stripped bare; young Jack (Ashton Holmes) starts out by using his self-deprecating wit as a defense, but later he turns into an attack dog of sarcasm. Even the performers who are given scope to misbehave—Ed Harris and William Hurt, playing wise guys from one of hell's more laughable circles—fit neatly into the film's symmetrical equations.

Tom, of course, is the character who goes through the biggest reversal, which is all the more astonishing for being effected through Viggo Mortensen's body. When first seen, Mortensen's Tom is the Honest Abe Lincoln of coffee shops; the flesh clings so tightly to his bones, you'd think there'd be no room to conceal anything. He speaks with a patience and simplicity that are just this side of aw-shucks; and his eyes, though set far, far back from you, seem amused rather than distant. Later, when this man begins to change, Cronenberg bets the movie on Mortensen's ability to bring depth to a face that you thought was all surface. The camera tends to stay fixed on him, in close-up; and with little more than a curl of the left side of his mouth, Mortensen seems to sneer, snarl, gasp in despair and prepare to weep, all in the space of a few seconds.

And he does it without talking. Although there's a lot of good, sharp dialogue in *A History of Violence*, many of the strongest scenes are wordless, as if the movie had emerged from silence and sought to return to it as the natural state. In retrospect, you can see this trait, too, as a matter of balance. At the beginning of this fable of male bloodiness, and of the women and children who live with it, a little girl stands speechless before the man who will kill her. At the end of the story, it's Tom's daughter who is silent as she admits him back into the home, setting a plate at dinner for the man who has killed.

She has no need to talk, there being no alternative to her father's return; and he's got nothing he can say for himself.

The question that forever haunts the corridors of *The Nation*—"Will this movie help to educate the masses?"—echoes again with the release of *Good Night, and Good Luck*. This time, whatever else you may think of the picture, the answer is clearly yes.

The film's subject, as you must know by now, is the decision by Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly of CBS News to air programs criticizing Senator Joe McCarthy. For director George Clooney (who also co-wrote the screenplay with Grant Heslov), the key choice in converting this history into drama was to use cleaned-up archival footage of McCarthy, rather than hire an actor to impersonate him. The aesthetic consequence is a black-and-white film, crisply shot by Robert Elswit. The political consequence will be the exposure of McCarthy, at full strength, to one or maybe two generations who have known him only as the front end of an "ism."

We'll see what comes of the shock. Meanwhile, to talk about the movie:

Half a dozen characters move around the average scene in *Good Night, and Good Luck*, talking rapidly over one another while a mobile camera threads its way among them. It looks and sounds a lot like *ER*. You might imagine, then, that Clooney is making a movie the only way he knows how—though the impression will melt away if you've seen his first feature, *Confessions of a Dangerous Mind*, which is both exceptionally good and exceptionally different. For his new picture, Clooney may have adapted a style from his television days, but it's clearly a choice, made to establish an atmosphere of people working together.

This is perhaps the most pleasant aspect of *Good Night, and Good Luck*: the fascination with professionals doing their job. The cast is a high-powered lot—it features David Strathairn as Murrow and Clooney as Fred Friendly, in addition to Robert

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. GOV'T GOLD FINAL RELEASE

Buy Gold Now Before it Reaches $1,500 per oz.

Buy Gold Now Before it Reaches $1,500 per oz.

GOLD TOPS $400 per oz. – MARKET PRIMED TO EXPLODE!
Gold sets blistering pace towards predicted $1,500 per oz.

2004 U.S. GOLD COINS FINAL RELEASE

The United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve Vault Facilities today announces the final release of 5,000 U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins previously held in The West Point Depository/U.S. Mint. For the first time in history, U.S. citizens will be able to buy 2004 Gov't Issued $5 Gold Coins at an incredible mark-up free price of only $50.00 each. An amazing price because these U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins are completely free of dealer markup. That's correct, our cost. This is a once in a lifetime opportunity to buy U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins at cost. The Gold market, which is currently over $400 an ounce, is predicted by experts, to have the explosive upside potential of reaching up to $1,500 an ounce. A limit of ten U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins per customer will be strictly adhered to. Orders that are not immediately received or reserved with the order center could be subject to cancellation and your checks returned un-cashed. Good luck. We hope that everyone will have a chance to purchase this special U.S. Gov't Issued Gold at cost. Order immediately to avoid disappointment. 2005 coins will be shipped if oversold. Call Toll-Free 1-800-360-8151.

U.S. DEBT TOPS SEVEN TRILLION GOLD MARKET EXPLODES

Being at war with terrorists for over three years and the war to liberate Iraq continues to cost taxpayers countless dollars. Add to the equation 7.7 million unemployed Americans, rampant corporate fraud, out of control government spending, the inability to balance the budget and you have an insurmountable debt that tops $7.6 trillion that continues to grow each and every minute. It is now harder than ever to obtain and maintain financial security. There is, however, good news in all of this. The Gold Market has outperformed the S&P 500 for the past five years. In addition, the performance of CD's and savings accounts can't even come close to the gains that Gold has made. This is why now is the time to move paper assets into Gold. Catastrophic debt and floundering economies have proven to be the perfect breeding ground that sends Gold through the roof. With prices holding steady (for now) in the $400 per ounce range, it is crucial that individuals move now because as soon as tomorrow, Gold could start its predicted steep rise from $400 to $1,500 per ounce. Do not be left behind while others profit from this market. Act now so you don't have any regrets later.

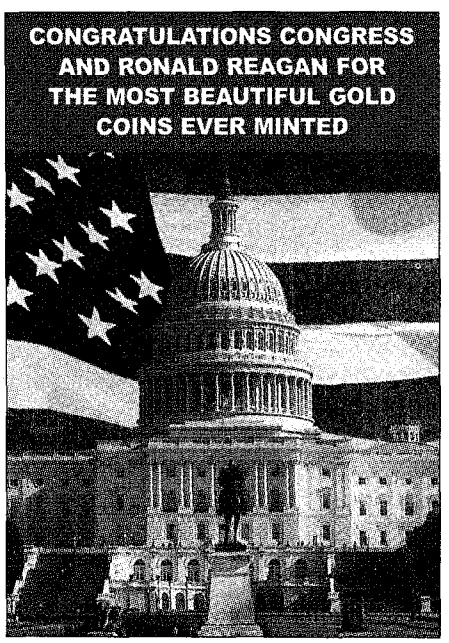
GOLD IS ALWAYS BETTER THAN MONEY IN THE BANK

If you had $50,000 in the bank and you transferred it into Gold at today's prices, you would now have an opportunity to gain as much as 5 times its value. That's right, a quarter of a million dollars. On the other hand, if you leave that same $50,000 in the bank for 10 years, chances are, it's only going to be worth the same $50,000. Unfortunate...but true. You must understand that when you convert money to Gold, you haven't spent your money but have transferred its value from a declining paper currency, to a precious metal that is rising in both market and numismatic value. This is how the genius of owning Gold absolutely protects your money in today's very volatile market. A market where you can lose everything at any minute. Thousands of individuals have lost their entire fortunes overnight. Don't let it happen to you. The Gold Market is currently very explosive, with predictions of its price rising from $400 an ounce to $1,500 an ounce, now is a great time to get in. Smart collectors are currently moving 10-20% of their assets into Gold. It's a great motivator for $50,000 to be worth $250,000 instead of just $50,000!

AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS

PUBLIC LAW 99-185 99 STAT. 1179

OFFICIAL GOV'T ISSUED $5 GOLD COINS



U.S. CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

By executive order of Ronald Reagan and Congress Public Law 99-185, Americans can now buy new Government Issued gold. Where once restricted as a nation, Ronald Reagan opened the doors for everyone to purchase gold and create security within their financial portfolios. The Gold Eagles' design features a moving tribute to the unity of the American family, in which a male eagle carrying a olive branch, soars above a female eagle that is nesting with her newborns. Thank you to Ronald Reagan, one of the greatest presidents of all time, for the Gold American Eagle program.

CALL NOW

THEY WILL NOT LAST LONG

TOLL FREE

1-800-360-8151

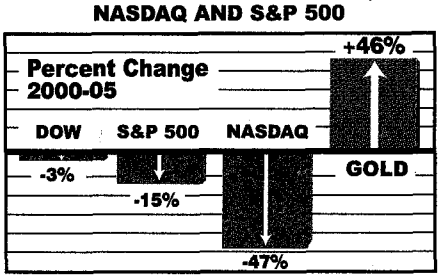
24 Hours a Day, 7 Days a Week

VAULT NO. TH10FM-50

UNITED STATES RARE COIN & BULLION RESERVE

Distributor of Government Issued Gold & Silver. Not Affiliated With the U.S. Government

GOLD OUTPACES THE DOW, NASDAQ AND S&P 500



Trusting your financial future to the stock market's performance has been a bad situation for over 5 years. In fact, the above graph clearly shows that not only the DOW, but the S&P 500 and NASDAQ are all down from January 2000. Gold, on the other hand, is up 46% since January 2000. Let's put this into perspective. If you had purchased $50,000 worth of Gold in January 2000, that same gold would be worth $73,000 today – a profit of $23,000. Most stocks cannot even come close to that gain. The Gold Market is on the move and is showing strong signs of moving higher. Many experts can offer excellent insight into the future price trends of Gold, but no one, including The United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve, can guarantee if a Gold Coin's future value will go up or down. Do not wait to move your hard earned money into Gold.

WHY TO BUY GOLD NOW

- Gold has outperformed the Stock Market for the past 5 years in a row.
- Smart individuals are moving 20-30% of their assets into U.S. Gov't Gold Coins.
- $50,000 in U.S. Gov't Gold Coins could be worth up to $250,000 in the future.
- With the National Debt at $7 Trillion and rising, Gold has an upside potential that has not been seen since the 1980's.
- A limit of 10 U.S Gov't Gold Coins per customer will be strictly adhered to. Offer may be withdrawn at any time.
- Special arrangements can be made for Gold orders over $50,000.

MASTER CARD • VISA • AMEX
DISCOVER • CHECK

BEGINNING TODAY, TELEPHONE ORDERS WILL BE ACCEPTED ON A FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVE BASIS ACCORDING TO TIME AND DATE OF THE ORDER!

Minimum Order 5 Gold Coins

1 – 2004 Gov't Issue Gold Coin	$ 50.00
5 – 2004 Gov't Issue Gold Coins	$ 250.00
10 – 2004 Gov't Issue Gold Coins	$ 500.00

SPECIAL AT-COST OFFER LIMITED TO PURCHASES OF $500.00 OR LESS PLUS SHIPPING & INSURANCE. THIS OFFER IS NOT AVAILABLE TO RESIDENTS OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS

NEW YORK

NYU Presents "The Color of Disaster: Race, Class and Hurricane Katrina"

■ Friday, October 14, 8 PM. Eisner and Lubin Auditorium, Kimmel Center, 60 Washington Square South. "The Eye of the Storm: Voices and Visions of New Orleans." Opening evening will feature readings of the stories of people's experiences in New Orleans, poetry and presentation of photos by photographers Deb Willis, Frank Stewart and others. Brenda Marie Osbey, Poet Laureate of Louisiana; Frank Stewart, jazz photographer, Lincoln Center; Deb Willis, professor of photography, Tisch School of the Arts, NYU. Hosted by: Tricia Rose, professor of American studies, UC Santa Cruz; Robin Kelley, professor of anthropology, Columbia University.

Panel Discussions

I. Before and After Katrina: History, Race and Space in New Orleans. II. Weathering Katrina: Community and Culture. III. Weathering Katrina: Community and Culture. Saturday, October 15, 2 PM. Loewe Theater, 35 West 4th Street. Panel participants include: Robin Kelley; Tricia Rose; Adam Green; and Walter Johnson, professor of American studies, NYU; Charlton McIlwain, Steindhardt School of Education, NYU; George Lipsitz, professor of African-American studies, UC Santa Barbara; Mindy Fullilove, Columbia School of Public Health; Mandy Carter, executive director, Southerners on New Ground (SONG); Tony Zumbado, MSNBC cameraman. Others to be announced. Free and open to the public. The event will benefit the People's Hurricane Relief Fund, an organization founded by Community Labor United in New Orleans. For more information, please contact Sheelagh Cabalda at sheelagh.cabalda@nyu.edu or (212) 998-3697.

Bush Crimes Commission

■ *October 21–23: First session of the Not In Our* Name statements of conscience sponsored international commission of inquiry on charges of crimes against humanity committed by the Bush Administration. The occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, torture and indefinite detention, destruction of the global environment and attacks on global health and reproductive rights. Grand Ballroom, Manhattan Center, 311 West 34th Street. Volunteers needed. Visit www.nion.us/commission.htm. Contact: commission@nion.us or (212) 941-8086.

NATIONAL

Economy Connection

■ Social Security. War and global capitalism. Unemployment and recession. Wealth, poverty and inequality. Economy Connection, a project of the Union for Radical Political Economics, can provide speakers and resources on these and related topics for events sponsored by community groups, unions, high schools, colleges or political organizations. Contact us at (201) 792-7459 or soapbox@comcast.net. Join URPE! Contact www.urpe.org, (413) 577-0806, URPE@labornet.org.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $190 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

Downey Jr., Patricia Clarkson, Frank Langella and Jeff Daniels—but the ensemble takes precedence. Nobody steals a scene, either in performance or in the script, which acknowledges Murrow as the star of CBS News but shows him surrounded by colleagues at all times, the first among equals. Friendly may literally kneel at his feet to cue his broadcasts, but Murrow does not speak without his producer's go-ahead tap.

The movie, then, is about a group of news people daring to take a stand. You learn something about the evil they opposed (did I mention the archival footage?) and also about how they did their work and how they justified it. (When challenged by CBS boss William Paley, who complains that a news program has strayed into editorializing, Murrow retorts, "I don't think there are two equal sides to every story.") Ultimately, the movie is also about the demise of Murrow's group, along with other high-minded news organizations. Clooney frames his story with a scene at an awards banquet, where Murrow eloquently denounces the decline of television news.

We come to a less pleasant aspect of *Good Night, and Good Luck*. The film begins with Murrow making a speech at you; it ends with a resumption of the same speech; and in between it patches in several more public addresses that tell you exactly what you ought to think. There's so much educating of the masses going on in this movie, or so much bolstering of your opinions, that you eventually long for a little dumb fun, as represented here by an old *Person to Person* interview between Edward R. Murrow and Liberace. Maybe Clooney understood he was burdening the audience with instruction, which is why he showed his characters drinking and smoking all the time. That's not period detail—it's vicarious pleasure.

On a more serious note (since you insist): The picture makes a case against McCarthy as a liar who recklessly accused all sorts of guiltless people of having been communists. The possibility that someone could have been both guiltless and a communist is not much entertained.

But now, having complained of too much education in this movie, I see I've faulted it for too little. Before I commit criticism again, I'd better just say that *Good Night, and Good Luck* makes something timely out of its history lesson. It's both a crafty little picture and a forthright one—a neat trick—and got this year's New York Film Festival off to a buzzing start. If that's not good enough, then I say we deserve Fox News. ■

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ACTIVISM

INVESTIGATE FOR YOURSELF! A great World Teacher is here with practical solutions to our most critical problems. Justice, reason and peace will prevail. Free CD. (888) 242-8272, share-international.org.

THERE'S ALWAYS TOMORROW! www.sagacious-smartass.com.

ANCIENT SECRETS

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL. Scholarly booklet conclusively proves Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored gospels. Amazing but absolutely incontrovertible! $10: Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (Details, SASE.)

AUTHOR'S QUERY

WRITERS NEEDED for a reference volume on American radical and reform writers. Entries: Will Durant, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Karl Hess, Winona LaDuke, J. Howard Moore, William English Walling, Julius Wayland, the Modern School Movement. Contact: lfurey63@hotmail.com. The Art Institute of Atlanta, (770) 689-5062.

BLOGS/WEB

FREE—Song parodies and rhymed verse satirizing Junior's foibles and miscalculations. www.politicalboondoggles.com.

OUTSIDE THE BOX! Secular, spiritual blogs, books. Free download e-zine, e-book. Comments invited. www.karlroebling.com.

WANTED: THINKERS. Reliable website host and domain-name registrar seeks thinking customers. Learn more at www.pair.com.

BOOKS

INTERESTING USED BOOKS since 1961. A dozen nonfiction categories. Not rare, not expensive. Send stamp for latest list. Roger Harris, Box 589, Bennington, VT 05201.

WATCH *BOSTON LEGAL? THE LAW FIRM? THE SCHOLAR?* Denzel Washington? Ken Lay? Want to read real celebrity justice? Then read *From the Palace to the Prison*. Rush Limbaugh should read it and weep. Get it at www.cafepress.com/manning. See more at http://dashcash.blogspot.com.

GOT LESBIAN FICTION? Read (and teach!) *Crashing America* (Alyson Books, 2005). katianoyes.com.

BULLETIN BOARD

A PUBLIC BULLETIN BOARD and information resource helping organizations and individuals find what they need, and find each other: www.postanotice.org.

COPY-EDITING

JENLINDNER.COM. Proofreading and copy-editing for students, artists, small businesses and independent publications. Fast. Smart. Moderate Rates.

FLOWER CONSULTATION

BACH FLOWERS for emotional and physical healing. Flower essence remedies mailed following discussion with M.Ed. in Counseling. (800) 940-9211, www.bachflowerconsultation.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

LIBERAL LIAISONS

Concerned Singles

Links singles concerned about peace, justice, race/gender equity, environment. Since 1984. Nationwide/international. All ages; straight/gay. Free sample: Box 444-NA, Lenox Dale, MA 01242; (413) 243-4350; www.concernedsingles.com.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com.

YOUR SECRET is our secret. www.Secretsphonesex.com, (800) 344-2019.

LOOKING FOR MR. LEFT. Pretty, petite, practicing NYC public-interest attorney seeks man of depth and light-hearted charms, age 55 to 75. Please reply to Nation Box 413.

SOUTH FLORIDA SWM LIFEGUARD on the left, 50 years old. Well traveled, fit, nice looking. Seeking SF 35 to 45 for relationship. Reply to Nation Box 411.

GAY MANHATTAN RENAISSANCE WOMAN. High-profile, dynamic, warm, creative, passionate, communicative, successful, pretty, thin, fit and fun. Seeks same. 49–60-ish. DreamPoetNYC@yahoo.com. Please reply to Nation Box 409.

SENSUAL, STYLISH PHONE CONVERSATIONS with intelligence, humor and élan. Unrestricted, guaranteed discretion. Alexis, (781) 581-9589.

POOR TENNIS PLAYER (NO SERVE) but trim, attractive, glass-half-full-minded woman of a certain age ponders second-time-around wonderful male companion. 60 to mid-70s. Sense of humor a must; literary tastes and traveler a plus. Pix and e-mail, please. Reply to Nation Box 410.

RENO REAL ESTATE DEVELOPER, 54 years old, well-traveled, published author, fit, attractive, seeks SWF 34–46 for relationship. Reply to Nation Box 412.

ONE OF A KIND, AND BEAUTIFUL TOO. Smart, compassionate, unconventional Seattle-based woman (39) seeks male companion. Please reply to Nation Box 414.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

LITERARY SERVICES

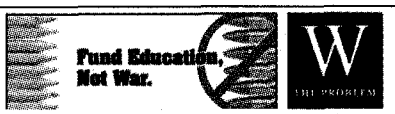
BOOK EDITOR. Specializing in memoir, history and travel. Will work with finished or unfinished manuscripts. References available. E-mail: lottobrand@hotmail.com.

MERCHANDISE

FREE BUMPER STICKER. Call (800) 630-1330 or see www.fcnl.org. Friends Committee on National Legislation.

UNHAPPY WITH THE DIRECTION of our country? Every purchase of a weeping flag tee, mug or magnet sends a message to Washington, and we donate 20 percent of each sale. www.RedWhiteAndFeelingBlue.com.

MERCHANDISE



INTRODUCING A BETTER LINE OF BUMPER STICKERS. For liberal, progressive and thinking America. Order online at www.pressforprogress.com. (888) 891-5262.

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at www.thenationmart.com and exercise subtle and not-so-subtle dissent. Most items are union-made. Great gifts!

MUSIC

DEBUT ALBUM AVAILABLE NOW: In the great tradition of songwriting with a conscience… listen to www.jenniferfriedman.com.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR. See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

INNOCENCE PROJECT, INC. (www.innocenceproject.org) seeks Managing Attorney to coordinate the work of its litigation department, carry a small caseload and develop its capacity working with pro-bono counsel. Excellent writing skills, at least ten years of legal experience (some supervisory) and criminal trial experience required. Fluency in Spanish preferred. For immediate consideration e-mail a résumé, cover letter including salary requirements and three references to: hr3@innocenceproject.org. No zip files, please. We are an equal opportunity employer.

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know. (212) 209-5416.

ORGANIZING COORDINATORS NEEDED in California for health-care union. Experience leading organizers in campaigns required. Send résumé: recruiter@seiu-uhw.org.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

LOS ANGELES PSYCHOLOGIST experienced in treating depression, anxiety, relationship issues, career malaise, addictive behaviors, trauma and crisis. WLA. Chet Wilson, PhD. (310) 840-6128.

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST, twenty-five years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. Margaret Kinder, PhD, (212) 582-5508.

NEW YORK THERAPIST, twenty years' clinical and university-based experience. Separation and divorced parenting; divorced fathers. Individual, family and couples. Bill Dineen, LCSW, (917) 566-4785.

RADIO

To advertise your radio program or station here, call us at (212) 209-5400.

REAL ESTATE

SANTA FE. PROGRESSIVE REALTOR® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Prudential Santa Fe (800) 418-1221 x171 or (505) 690-4840 mobile. pkahn@keshi.com.

BLAINE NEWCOMB. Helping to find the right home for you. Baltimore Metro. Re/Max Suburban West. (800) 866-7362. Cell: (443) 829-6277. www.homesdatabase.com/listingsfortoday.

BERKELEY, CA. Work with the Realtor Who's on Your Side. Norma J.F. Harrison. (510) 526-3968, (866) 264-9029. NormaHa@pacbell.net.

CONCORD, MA. LIVE IN THOREAU COUNTRY! Christina Ryan, Coldwell Banker. christina.ryan@nemoves.com. (978) 459-5445 or (978) 369-1000.

MIAMI. Your kind of realtor®, academics, empty-nesters, etc. Lynn Meyer, (305) 666-4627 or Perlmeyer@bellsouth.net.

RELIGION

FREETHOUGHT TODAY. Newspaper for atheists, agnostics, First Amendment fans. Free sample: www.ffrf.org/fttoday/. Ten issues/year, $20. PO Box 750, Madison WI 53701.

TRAVEL/TOURS

EXPLORE POLITICS, ECONOMY, CULTURE ABROAD through Reality Tours with Global Exchange. See ad in *The Nation,* page 50, www.globalexchange.org.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.75/word, 15-word minimum = $56.25 for 1–3 insertions; PO Box, telephone numbers, web address count as two words.

Buy 4–9 runs, pay $3.40 per word
Buy 10–23 runs, pay $3.25 per word
Buy 24–46 runs, pay $2.95 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.40 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $50/insertion B/W; $60 for color. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. EPS logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 10 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $ _____ for _____ insertions at $ _____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $45 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

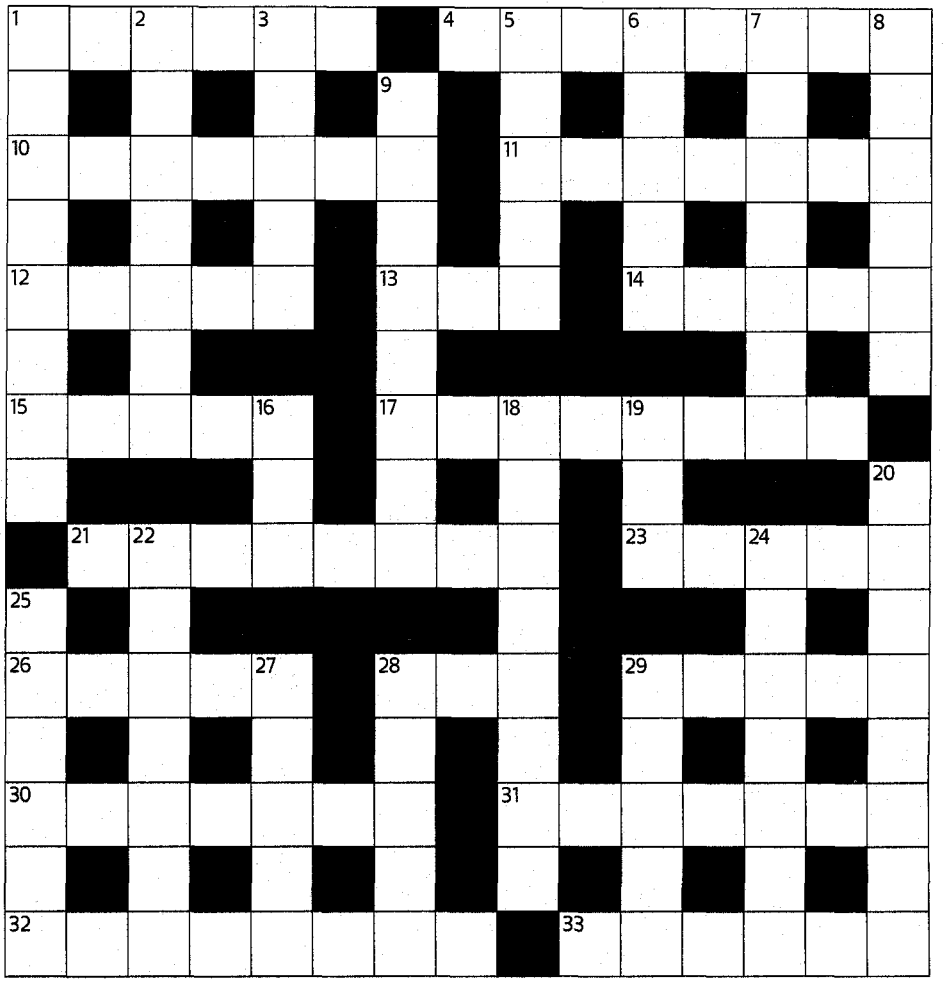
For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com.

E-mail preferred. Attach ad, typewritten if possible.
The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 3006

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 24 down

4 You gals mistakenly have a winning sign, proving one is from a foreign country. (8)

10 Given more oxygen, perhaps, are falsely given a rather odd date. (7)

11 A second appearance would be unusual for churchmen—or a team from a Southern university. (7)

12, 13 and **14** I might do it after misbehaving, wearing a humble sash for a change. (5,3,5)

15 For at least the second time, made light of an improper tiler. (5)

17 Sat awkwardly in what Miss Muffet took to be a matter of course. (8)

21 Bess does get carried away by it! (8)

23 Go back to study some place in Utah? (5)

28 and **26** In return, a word from Paris to hitch a tiny character with it. (3,5)

29 A famous general serves me a drink to cool me off. (5)

30 How the guitarist complained of a broken string—but this could fix things up! (7)

31 A certain ester has something that fussy people pick with ceremony. (7)

32 What's the point to supplications, when you have paint guns! (8)

33 An awful situation, though caused by such a quiet flame. (6)

DOWN

1 Certainly one does not belong to the poet's union, but the point might be well hidden by it. (8)

2 A whale of a showing, though an error qualifies it for exhibition. (7)

3, 16 and **27** Someone might say it before he shoots you, as the ornithologist might do on occasion! (5,3,5)

5 and **25** Gets the drift of where the pop bottles might be thrown from the bleachers. (11)

6 Where the track runners might be due for a sort of salvo. (5)

7 A sort of red opal, found in the wild possibly. (7)

8 and **20** Does one have to wear a sleeveless garment to show curiosity about one who has something to gain from the deal? (6,8)

9 Sort of defies a little less than a hundred in it, being rather fancy put-up jobs. (8)

16 See 3

18 Perhaps proving time ends with something that settles at the bottom. (8)

19 What the experimental Britisher has—not now, but at one time. (3)

20 See 8

22 Rub the wrong way, and you might get a rise out of it finally—which is enough for a real fighter! (7)

24 and **1** across You might be doing it for a lot of what the artist was engaged in at the haymow. (7,6)

25 See 5

27 See 3

28 Send something up according to the clock? (5)

29 Some band lovers like it heavy, with a number coming up not on time. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3005

T	A	K	E	F	O	R		G	R	A	N	T	E	D
H		N		L		E		R		T		E		A
R	A	I	M	E	N	T		A	N	T	E	S	U	P
O		T		S		R		N		I		T		H
W	A	T	C	H		A	N	D		C	H	A	I	N
S		E				C		M				T		I
A	N	D	D	A	R	T		A	G	E	L	E	S	S
				N						G				
H	A	I	R	D	O	S		P	A	G	E	A	N	T
O		G				I		E				D		H
T	H	U	M	B		F	I	T		C	A	D	G	E
S		A		L		T		C		R		E		D
P	I	N	H	O	L	E		O	V	E	R	D	U	E
U		A		O		R		C		P		U		A
R	E	S	I	D	E	S		K	N	E	E	P	A	D

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Introducing BELL+HOWELL® The Next Generation In Digital Cameras

10.0 Mega Pixels, 2-Inch LCD Screen, AMAZING PRICE!

3X Optical Zoom

4X Digital Zoom

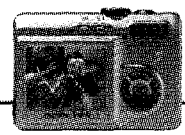
2" GIANT *LCD Screen*

NOT ~~$899~~

NOW ONLY $299.95 EA

16MB. Built-In

3X Optical Zoom
4X Digital Zoom



2" LCD Screen

BELL+HOWELL®
2" Screen Digital Camera

New frontier in digital photography

The Bell+Howell® Digital Camera takes digital photography to a whole new level. The Bell+Howell® Digital Camera is ultra small (just 3 1/2" x 2 3/8" & 1" slim) with a 3X optical zoom and 4X digital zoom and a giant 2" LCD screen. Loaded with features, this could be the most amazing offer in digital cameras.

Magnificent prints & enlargements

From a macro close-up to 4X digital zoom and 3X optical zoom, this camera lives up to the finest optical standards. There are no "fuzzies" even when you shoot from inches away or zero in on a face in the crowd. You can now print an 8 x 10 photo in professional-caliber high resolution without retouching and without compromising clarity.

Never run out of batteries

Many digital cameras require difficult to find and expensive batteries. The Bell+Howell® works on regular alkaline AA batteries, rechargeable AA batteries or lithium ion AA batteries that makes easy to have extra batteries on hand and easy to find replacements if you should run out.

Tiny wonder stores over 140 photos

This is one of the world's smallest and slimmest cameras. Yet it has an amazing 16 MB of built in flash memory to store up to 141 photographs. Use the camera's SD card slot with removable memory cards to preserve a limitless number of photographs.

One touch streaming video

Capture once-in-a-lifetime events as film clips: weddings, graduations, birthday parties, vacations. You get amazing 2 minutes and 55 seconds of streaming video with built in flash memory and as much as 23 minutes on a 128 MB memory card (not included).

Ultra big 2-inch LCD screen

Despite its small size, the Bell+Howell® Digital Camera features a large 2" screen in the back so you can view your photograph and streaming video with crystal clarity.

$75-worth of FREE software & cables

Your purchase includes a TV cable and a USB cable for your PC or Mac as well as software to catalog and browse photos, add special effects, or create a slideshow with music. Our digital camera and software allow you to display your pictures on your computer, TV screen, the camera's own LCD screen, or print them almost anywhere!

Trust Bell+Howell® with your memories

For almost 100 years Bell+Howell® has been a leader in providing fine photographic equipment and electronics. The Bell+Howell® Digital Camera features the expertise and quality that you expect from the well-respected Bell+Howell® name.

Reliable and built to last

This is not one of those plastic cameras tinted to look like metal. It is made of shockproof durable metal construction that makes this the last digital camera you'll ever need to buy.

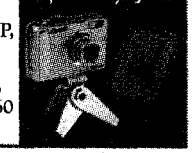
How can we offer this quality at such a price?

We have a special arrangement to offer you this Bell+Howell® Digital Camera at a fraction of the price of other Digital Cameras (through exclusive manufacturing arrangements). But at this price, we expect our cameras to sell out very fast. Ask for special pricing when you buy two digital cameras!

LOADED WITH FEATURES:

- 10.0 Mega-Pixel-Camera
- Uses interpolation to achieve 10.0 mega pixels
- Up to 141 pictures in built-in 16MB memory
- 3X Optical Zoom
- 4X Digital Zoom
- Ultra big 2-inch color LCD screen
- Built-in flash
- Red-eye reduction
- Includes 2 "AA" alkaline batteries, runs on AA lithium batteries as well
- Self timer & continuous shot feature
- 20- second voice memo
- Doubles as a camcorder
- Sound effects
- Built-in microphone & speaker
- USB cable & TV cable
- Playback zoom to 8X
- Supported O/S: Microsoft Windows 98SE, ME, 2000, XP, Mac OS 9.1, 10.1
- Free Software: Ulead Photo Explorer 8.0 SE, Ulead Video Studio 7.0 SE, Ulead Cool 360
- And more!

FREE BONUSES
Tripod & Carrying Case



Free bonuses with every order!

We will also ship you a Bell+Howell® Tripod and Camera Carrying Case, a $29.95 value, FREE with every order. **Warranteed.** Call today!
NOT AVAILABLE IN STORES.

For fastest service, call toll-free

1-800-973-2994

24 hours a day, 7 days a week / we accept checks by phone

BELL+HOWELL®
Bell+Howell® 2" Screen Digital Camera Dept. 6053
P. O. Box 3012 Wallingford, CT 06492
To order by mail please call toll free 1-800-973-2994 for details.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Read the *New York Times* Bestseller

NOW IN PAPERBACK WITH A NEW AFTERWORD

Winner of the 2005 PEN Award for Nonfiction

"Read Sam Harris and wake up."

—RICHARD DAWKINS

"*The End of Faith* articulates the dangers and absurdities of organized religion so fiercely and so fearlessly that I felt relieved as I read it, vindicated, almost personally understood.... **Harris writes what a sizable number of us think, but few are willing to say in contemporary America.... This is an important book."**

—NATALIE ANGIER,
The New York Times Book Review

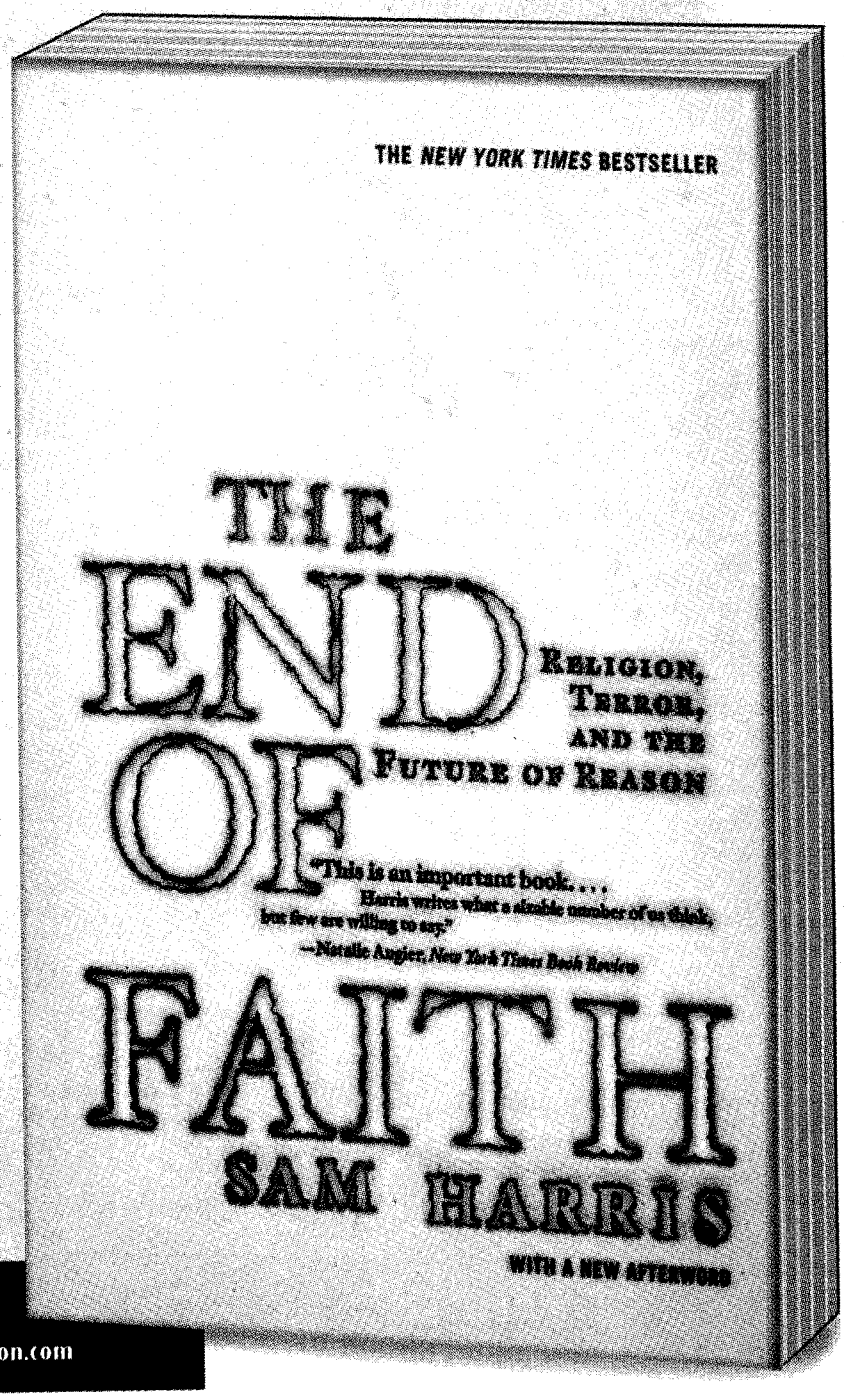
"This book **will strike a chord** with anyone who has ever pondered the irrationality of religious faith."

—***The Economist***

"Harris writes with such verve and frequent insight that **even skeptical readers will find it hard to put down."**—***The San Francisco Chronicle***

"Sam Harris launches a sustained nuclear assault.... A bold and exhilarating thesis.... *The End of Faith* is **a brave, pugilistic attempt to demolish the walls that currently insulate religious people from criticism....** *The End of Faith* is badly needed...." —***The Independent***

Read the first ten pages at
www.samharris.org


THE NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER
THE END OF FAITH
RELIGION, TERROR, AND THE FUTURE OF REASON
"This is an important book....
Harris writes what a sizable number of us think, but few are willing to say."
—Natalie Angier, New York Times Book Review
SAM HARRIS
WITH A NEW AFTERWORD

W. W. NORTON & Company
Independent publishers since 1923 www.wwnorton.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED